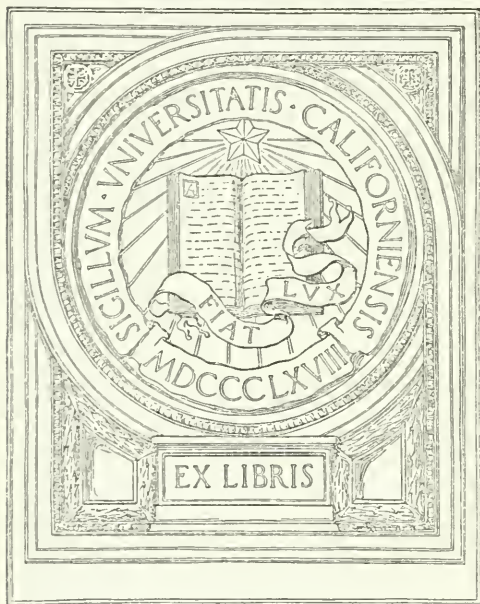


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

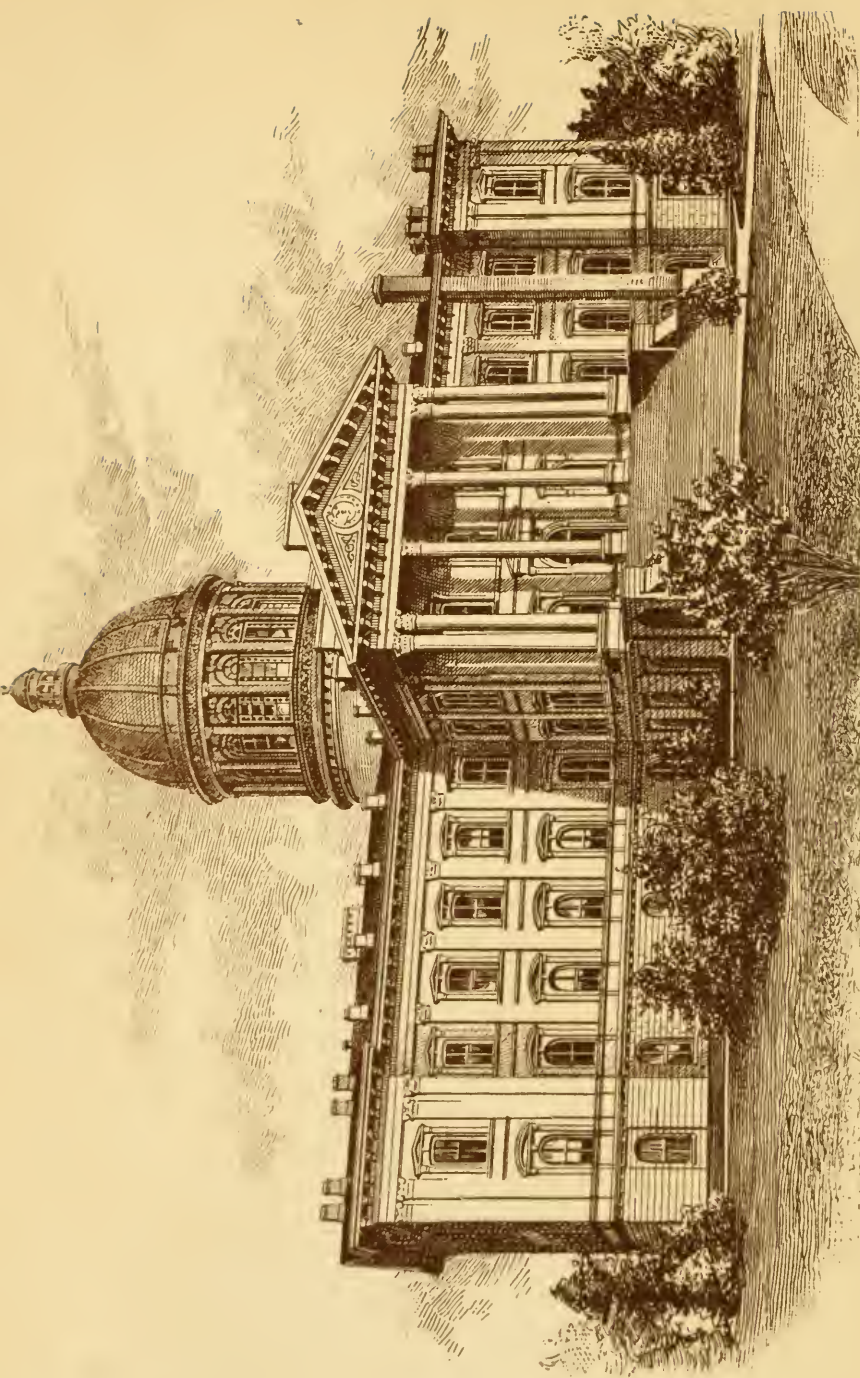


THE GIFT OF
MAY TREAT MORRISON
IN MEMORY OF
ALEXANDER F MORRISON



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HISTORY OF OREGON



OREGON STATE CAPITOL, SALEM

HISTORY OF OREGON

THE GROWTH OF AN AMERICAN STATE

BY
HORACE S. LYMAN

ASSOCIATE BOARD OF EDITORS
HARVEY W. SCOTT CHARLES B. BELLINGER
AND
FREDERIC G. YOUNG

VOLUME FOUR



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CHAPTER I

THE FIRST WAR PERIOD



ON the afternoon of November 29, 1847, Dr. Whitman and eleven others were massacred at his home by the Cayuse Indians. The causes were so obscure and the actions of William McBean, the commandant at Fort Walla Walla (Wallula), were so singular as to somewhat puzzle the authorities, and raise the question to how great an extent the outbreak of the Indians might spread. The report of McBean, which had been dispatched to James Douglas November 30th, were forwarded December 7th to Governor Abernethy. A communication was also received from Alanson Hinman, who was stationed at The Dalles, in charge of a station to which Dr. Whitman was probably contemplating a removal. He was accompanying the express that brought the news of the massacre to Vancouver; but was not informed of the outbreak until having passed the Cascades. Hinman asked that an armed party be sent at once to The Dalles, for the defense of his family and the settlement, to which he would immediately return.

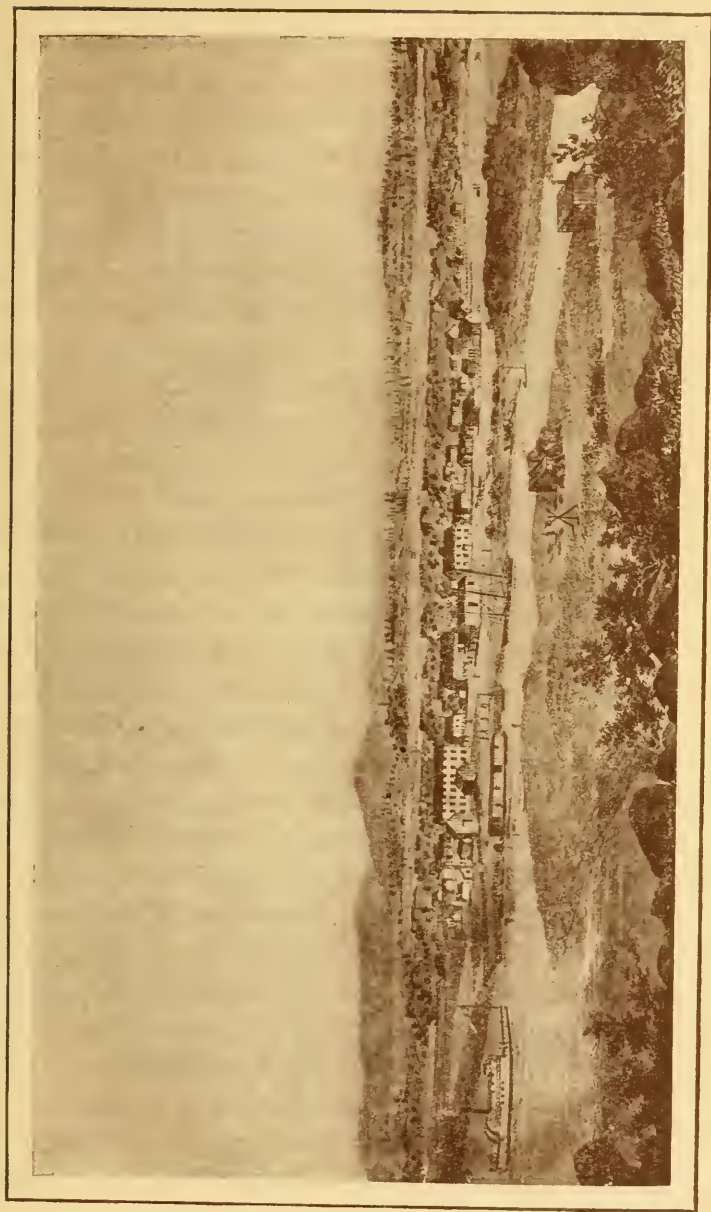
The letters were at once laid before the Legislative Assembly of the Oregon Government, and a resolution was offered by Nesmith authorizing the Governor to forward the aid asked to The Dalles. The resolution was:

“ That the Governor is hereby required to raise, arm, and equip a company of riflemen, not to exceed fifty men with their captain and subaltern officers,

and dispatch them forthwith to occupy the mission station at The Dalles, on the Columbia River, and to hold the same until reinforcements can arrive at that point or other means be taken as the Government may think advisable."

The action of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver was equally prompt, though the intention was from the first to leave the punishment of the crime to the Americans—thus recognizing that in the Provisional Government was the civil authority of the Territory. The object of Ogden, who was sent with a party from Vancouver, was to rescue the women and children taken captive. He arrived at Fort Walla Walla December the 19th, and summoned the Cayuse chiefs to meet him there. He made a forcible address, sternly blaming the chiefs for not controlling their young men, and warning the young men that once they got the vengeance of the Americans roused it would not be appeased until all were cut to earth. He said, however, that his people were traders and had nothing to do with the trouble; they were neutral. He had come to buy the captives. To this the Cayuse chiefs consented, and the rescued captives with Ogden started down the Columbia New Year's day, arriving at Oregon City in about a week.

The passage of the resolution directing the Governor to raise, arm, and equip troops placed Abernethy and the entire Provisional Government in a difficult position. The situation apprehended and noticed in almost every memorial to Congress had now



THE DALLEs IN 1858

After an old print.

been reached. There was now an Indian uprising, but among the Americans there were no supplies for carrying on war. There was but one recourse, and that was to apply to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. Steps were taken first to raise the volunteers by appointing officers, as follows: Colonel, Cornelius Gilliam; lieutenant-colonel, James Waters; major, H. A. G. Lee; and commissary general, Joel Palmer. A Loan Commission was then selected, consisting of Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy, and Geo. L. Curry.

The committee to raise funds addressed a letter to the citizens of Oregon City, asking loans on the credit of the Oregon Government, and expressed the belief that all such indebtedness would be assumed by the United States. This met with a willing response. The commissary general began at once collecting supplies of all kinds among the people, and nowhere was there a more ready assistance than among the Canadians of French Prairie. The same application was made at Vancouver, but was refused. A letter was addressed to James Douglas, applying for ammunition, December 11th, to which he replied the same day: "I have no authority to grant loans or make any advances on account of the Hudson's Bay Company, my orders on that point being so positive that I cannot deviate from them without assuming a degree of responsibility that no circumstances would justify to my mind." He stated further he was not unmindful of the calls of humanity, the ex-

pedition under Ogden just sent to Walla Walla being to prevent further aggression and rescue the women and children. Beyond that he assumed that he must remain neutral.

Two courses lay open: One, as was afterward followed by Gilliam with McBean at Fort Walla Walla, was to levy forcibly on the magazine, as under all maxims of law a State in necessity may do; and the other to apply on personal note. There were not lacking those who counseled that the former should be pursued, and there were whispers made which afterward much alarmed Mr. Douglas. But the more moderate course, which proved much the wiser, prevailed. Applegate and Lovejoy and Abernethy gave their personal note for a thousand dollars' worth of ammunition; and with this received, Lee and his company, who arrived at Vaucouver the 10th, were ready for their journey to The Dalles, which they reached on the 28th (December, 1847).

Alarming rumors continuing to arrive from the upper country, the Legislature provided for the following four steps for defense. The first of these was to raise five hundred men; Wesley Shannon, John Ford, and Thomas McKay being appointed as brevet captains to raise companies in Champoeg County; John Owens, William Williams, and John Stewart for Polk County; Philip Thompson, George Nelson, and Felix Scott for Yamhill; Isaac W. Smith and Benjamin Q. Tucker for Tualatin; and James Officer for Clackamas. The rendezvous was to be at

Portland—a name now beginning to appear; the first companies were to proceed with Gilliam at The Dalles, and the later, after all arrived, with Waters. Among the most prompt were the Canadians under Tom McKay. The second concern, though provided a few days earlier, was to send a special messenger to Washington. For this service Jos. L. Meek was selected, who should report the situation and bear a memorial urging a territorial government at once. He made the trip in company with G. W. Ebberts and Leabo, and returned as United States Marshal in company with the first territorial Governor, Joseph Lane. The third measure was to dispatch a company of sufficient numbers to reach California to ask aid of Colonel R. Mason, military governor, and requesting W. Bradford Shubrick, commander of the Pacific squadron, to dispatch a gunboat to the Columbia. This mission was given to Jesse Applegate, with fifteen men. To assist in this H. H. Spalding, who, with the rescued captives, arrived safely with Mr. Ogden on the 8th of January, became responsible for \$500. The company consisted of Captain Levi Scott, and his two sons, John and William; Walter and Thomas Monteith, A. A. Robinson, Wm. Gilliam, Joseph Waldo, John Minto, James Campbell, James Fields, James Lemon, John Tice, Solomon Tethero, and George Hibbler. After attempting the pass into the Klamath Basin, as they selected the old Applegate route across the Cascades, they found the way blocked with heavy snows, and were obliged to return

to the Willamette. Later in the year Lieutenant Hardie arrived in the Columbia with the bark "Anita," in search of recruits to hold Mazatlan in Mexico; the Mexican War being still in progress, and Southern and Lower California requiring American troops; but Oregon had no men to spare at such a time. The fourth measure was to appoint a delegation of three to proceed immediately to Walla Walla and confer with the Indian tribes of the interior, to prevent a coalition with the Cayuses. This was introduced by Medorem Crawford, and passing, proved a most useful measure. To this commission were appointed Joel Palmer and Robert Newell, with Perrin Whitman as interpreter. A communication was also sent to the United States consul at the Sandwich Islands. The military operations of this war lasted until the following autumn.

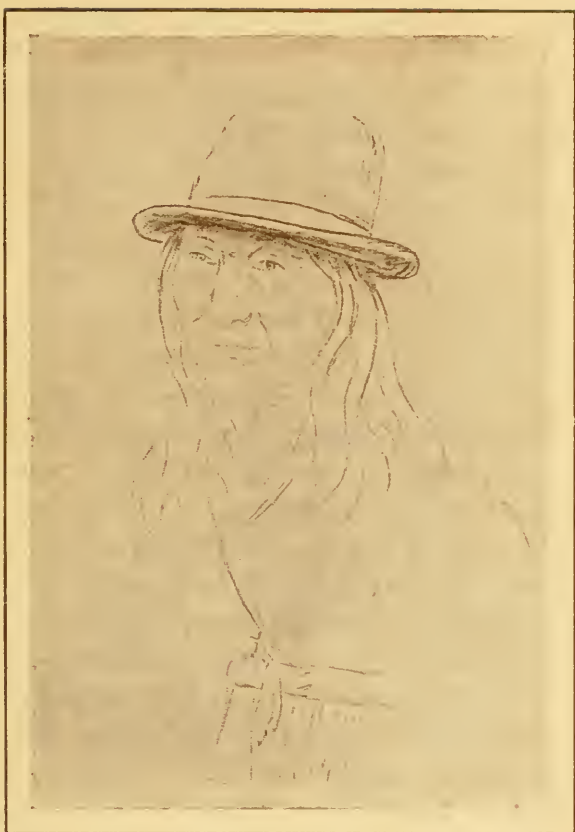
Colonel Gilliam gathered his forces rapidly, and on the 12th of January left Portland, reaching The Dalles on the 23d, with fifty men; the remainder, making a force of about two hundred and fifty in all, arriving on the 25th. Before Gilliam's arrival Lee had had a slight skirmish with the Des Chutes Indians, capturing a number of horses, which proved serviceable as riding animals. On the 28th, Lee was sent forward to find the same Indians, who were said to be urged on by a number of Cayuses; and had a skirmish, which he reported at night to Gilliam. With about one hundred and thirty men Gilliam moved forward next day, and finding the Indians in

force on the hills above a point described as Meek's crossing, ordered an attack on the morning of the 30th. The Indians were quickly dislodged, and abandoned their horses, some forty of which were captured, with a few cattle. The only loss inflicted upon the volunteers was by some Cayuses who attacked the exposed camp, and killed two soldiers (Packwood and Jackson), who were guarding the horses. By this movement the Des Chutes Indians were induced to give up the struggle, and made terms with the commissioners, saying that they had been forced into the difficulty through fear of the Cayuses. The instructions of the Governor were that the murderers of Whitman and the others must be given up for punishment and reparation be made for loss of property; but no other Indians of the Cayuse or any other tribe should be molested unless they made themselves hostile.

Gilliam desired to press forward as rapidly as possible into the Cayuse country. The disposition of the Hudson's Bay people was not fully known; Ogden seemed to deprecate a forward movement as likely to unite all the upper tribes against the Americans. It was also reported that the Catholic priest on the Umatilla desired that no advance be made, but that the Americans make a treaty with the Cayuses on the assurance that they would commit no more murders if the Americans would not invade their country. It was clearly seen, however, that if the war was not carried to the Umatilla the Willam-

ette Valley might be soon invaded; and that in any case to let the murderers escape unpunished would give the Cayuses and all the enemies of the Americans license to commit further crimes at will. Giliam therefore quickly made his preparations and began a forward movement February 15th. Small parties of Des Chutes Indians followed, offering peace; and signal fires were also seen on distant hills, giving exact information to the tribes on the Umatilla of the force marching against them, and the rate of speed. These signals were translated by Indian interpreters in the army. An Indian ally, who proved to be entirely worthy and reliable, is mentioned by Lee; this was Seletza, at Wascopam; though he seems to have been distrusted by the colonel.

With the progress of the troops into the Indian country conflicting reports were received; some saying that the Nez Perces had joined the Cayuses; or that Yellow Serpent, Peopeomoxmox, the powerful chief of the Walla Walla, was uniting with them. F. N. Blanchet, the Catholic missionary stationed in the Yakima country, wrote to Ogden that he was dissuading his Indians from any coalition, and they would not join the Cayuses. Nevertheless many individual Indians, or renegades, besides the Cayuses, assembled to oppose the progress of the Oregonians. These were gathered to the estimated number of over four hundred; and besides these there were an hundred more, or perhaps over, who followed to simply



PÉO-PÉO-MOX-MOX,

Head Chief of the Walla Wallas.

Reproduced from "Life of General Isaac I. Stevens." This engraving follows an original drawing made by Gustave Sohon, a soldier who accompanied General Stevens on his treaty making trips.

witness the fight, and await the issue to see which party they would join.

On the 25th the Cayuses, with their allies from the north side of the river, felt strong enough to make a stand. The place was the elevated sage brush plains, west of the Umatilla. Their boasts were very impressive: "The Americans should never drink of the waters of the Umatilla"; they would beat them back with clubs, and then proceed to the Willamette Valley and possess themselves of the white men's women and all their property; and War Eagle, who was also a medicine man, declared that the bullets of the Americans could not penetrate his flesh; or if they did he would spit them out of his mouth. Although in midwinter the day was fair and warm. The Indians were deployed in the hills and took shelter behind tufts of sage brush. The observers of the battle, including women and children, were stationed on distant elevations to witness the destruction of the Americans. Gilliam arranged his force in nearly a circular formation, with the wagons in the center. A charge was soon made by the Cayuses upon his lines, and reaching a point of effective range the Indians wheeled and opened fire. To this Gilliam's troops responded briskly; some of the Indians were wounded; and many horses were shot down. Quickly retiring the Cayuses dropped behind the sage brush and renewed their fire from all over the extended field, but showed poor aim, and did little damage. The Americans then advanced, forcing the

Indians' position from point to point, and gradually moved them toward the Umatilla. In the course of the action Five Crows, one of the most culpable of the Cayuses, was shot in two places, his left arm being splintered. He barely escaped capture or death from Charles McKay. War Eagle—or Great Eagle—urging on the fight and hurling defiance, was singled out by Thomas McKay, and shot through the head, the ball entering his mouth.

The action lasted about three hours; the Indians' fusees carrying farther than the Americans' rifles, but their aim being bad, and their force on retreat. About eight of the Indians were reported as killed; and there was no loss sustained by the Americans. Four hundred and seventeen were reported as taking part in the fight from among the Indians; but their repulse induced the allies to withdraw quickly across the Columbia, while the Cayuses abandoned the line of the Umatilla and retired to the camp of Tamsuky, their leader, on the Walla Walla.

The Nez Perces, who had assembled in considerable force to witness the fight, received a letter from Spalding urging them to maintain the peace with the Americans; and being assured by the commissioners that they would not be molested, and that there was no intention to take away their lands, or kill them, decided for peace. Yellow Serpent also, although a much more subtle character than any of the Nez Perces, found no cause for war with the Americans. The Spokanes, although visited by emissaries of the

Cayuses, and at first much frightened by the threats of these dominant savages, remained neutral, and offered the amplest protection to Eells and Walker, the American missionaries at Tshimikain. The Hudson's Bay commandant at Colville, Lewis, and five brothers named Finlay, also showed a creditable contrast to the conduct of McBean at Fort Walla Walla; offering to receive and protect the American missionaries if this were found necessary. Nor was the whole tribe of the Cayuses disposed for war. 'Stic-cus in particular, who had ever been a faithful member of Whitman's church, who had acted as guide to successive parties of immigrants and was opposed to the massacre of the doctor, and had befriended the women and children as far as able, remained neutral, and took occasion to inform the commissioners of his continued friendship. Ogden, who had first warned the Americans not to enter the Cayuse country, as this would bring a coalition of all the tribes, could write February 20, 1848, to Abernethy: "It is my firm conviction that when the troops reach Walla Walla the enemy will soon dwindle away."

Gilliam was camped on the Walla Walla by the 29th, whence he sent a short report to Abernethy of the battle on the Umatilla, stating that he had engaged four hundred and eighteen of the Indians, killing eight, and scattering the rest, and asking for reinforcements as he then thought there would be a general coalition of the tribes. In this fear he proceeded to Fort Walla Walla and asked McBean, the

Hudson's Bay commandant, to furnish ammunition. He was curtly refused. Gilliam then peremptorily ordered him to open the stores; he threw down the keys, saying: "Here are the keys; there is the magazine; help yourself." Without further attention to him this was done. On the 4th of March, Newell wrote McBean: "I am happy to say that matters are assuming a favorable appearance; with yours and his (Thomas McKay's) assistance, with a little forbearance on the part of the troops, I believe all that could be desired will be accomplished without further bloodshed." Newell and Palmer were considered by the troops as inclined to be imposed upon by friendly protestations of the Indians, a considerable number of whom professed friendship, but still accompanied the hostiles and seemed to be taking care of their stock while the warriors were ready to fight. 'Sticcus, however, showed his entire good faith by collecting and delivering all the stock of Whitman's that he could find; among them being a valuable spotted mare that had been stolen from the friendly Wasco Seletza. McBean approved the policy of the commissioners, but feared that Gilliam "would do something rash."

The entire situation, however, soon assumed a very critical aspect. Indians were seen collecting on the north side of the Columbia above The Dalles, with the apparent purpose of plundering the supply boats as they passed up the river, near the Des Chutes. In the Willamette Valley the Klamaths arrived and

stirred up the Molallas to make a demonstration at the Abiqua, a small stream in the vicinity of Silver-ton. In Benton County there was a collision with the Calapooias, two of the Indians being killed and ten wounded. This may have been the act of rash settlers, but even so portended all the more a general disturbance. The Indians were said to have begun stealing stock. That the coast tribes might also take advantage of the situation was also shown by a number of Tillamooks coming into Polk County committing petty depredations, and killing an old man. In this situation Abernethy deemed it advisable to recall Gilliam to the Willamette, and issued a call for three hundred more volunteers. On the 10th, however, Gilliam wrote Abernethy that the Cayuses were moving north through the country of the Walla Walla, and with the Palouse allies, making a force of about four hundred, were encamped on the Tukan-non. He intended taking a force of two hundred and fifty and attacking them. He urged also the necessity of reënforcements, especially as the term of many of his men would soon expire. He very correctly saw that the hope of preventing coalition was by maintaining an active campaign, and constantly degrading the hostiles by repeated defeat until they should submit and give up the murderers for punishment. This led to a sharp encounter, and a serious engagement on the Touchet. Leaving Fort Waters, on the Walla Walla, the same day with about two hundred men he marched to the Tukannon, which was reached

on the 18th; the force being weakened to one hundred and fifty-eight, by return of Captain English with the worn out horses and men, and the property of Dr. Whitman, brought in at that time by 'Sticcus. Information was here received that the Cayuses had divided, Tamsuky having gone eastward to the land of the Red Wolf, on the Snake, and Tiliquoit (Telo-kaikt) preparing to cross the Snake with his Palouse allies.

The plan was then formed to attack the latter at the crossing. Soon after daybreak they reached the Indians, who were thrown into confusion, but at once adopted a ruse. An old man, with well feigned sincerity, appeared and declared that these were not the hostiles, but the people of Peopeomoxmox; and that the Cayuses had gone on leaving in their haste the cattle upon the hills. The troops were ordered not to fire upon the Indians in the camp, who were assembled to the number of four hundred, armed and painted; but to capture the cattle. But on reaching the hills and overlooking the Snake River they saw the greater part of the stock already crossing or else safely on the other side, with the Indian drovers urging them rapidly off; and at the same moment the four hundred painted Indians just left at the camp as friends were coming on the rear of the scattered troops with war whoops and discharge of fuses. About five hundred of the stock captured were hastily corralled on the creek, and a fire returned. Some of the Indians were picked off, but they mostly re-

mained at a distance in the hills, keeping up a protracted fire.

By this treacherous attack the greater part of the Indians' stock was saved, and taken to the country of the Palouses. It was deemed impossible to cross the river and was decided to return with the cattle and horses captured to the Walla Walla. The retreat was therefore begun. A rear-guard fight being kept up with the pursuing Indians. Camp was made on a small stream, but during the entire night a constant fire and the howls of the braves made the situation very critical, and the captured stock was turned loose. At daybreak the retreat was resumed, a rear fight still continuing. It was necessary to cross the beautiful but swift Touchet. As this river was approached the Indians formed the bold design of seizing the crossing before the Americans arrived, thus blocking their retreat, and surrounding them, cut the little column to pieces. Their horses were urged to their utmost speed and a considerable force of the braves gained the brush at the fords before the Americans. This unexpected dash commanded the admiration of even the troops who were thus jeopardized, Captain Maxon reporting that the history of savage warfare furnished few instances of greater Indian prowess and daring. The Americans were at first thrown into confusion, all their fighting hitherto having been at the rear; and there was positive danger for a few moments of general rout and massacre. But a few young men at the most vulnerable

point taking matters in their own hands encountered the Indians, rolling them back, and causing a *mêlée* rather than a battle. For almost an hour the struggle lasted; the Indians, although having every advantage, being unable to concentrate, and fighting in their old savage style, each for himself, and rather with noise and threats than execution. Many of them were wounded and a number were laid on the field; but quickly borne away. The river was then crossed safely, and Walla Walla was reached on the 16th (January, 1848).

This movement might have been considered a defeat if the Indians had known how to take advantage of it. They were, however, repulsed with loss at the Touchet and glad to retreat to the Snake. Tiliquoit and his band was probably driven across that river, and the Palouses lost faith in him as unable to hold his own country. From the large numbers of Indians it was manifest that many were Walla Wallas and Palouses. But these seem to have dwindled away after the fight. The effect therefore was that of a victory to the Americans. It has been said that there was a large band of Nez Percés in the vicinity at the battle of the Tukannon, or Touchet; but they remained entirely friendly with the Americans. At this place, and in many others during the winter, if these Indians had decided to become hostile it is hardly possible that Gilliam's small command could have survived.

After reaching Fort Waters on the Walla Walla a

council of war was held, and it was decided that about one hundred and fifty men should move down the Columbia to Fort Wasopam, at The Dalles, recruit their provisions, and confer with the Governor. Without more men and ammunition and equipment it was useless to follow the bands of the Cayuses, who might be at any battle strongly reënforced by renegadoes, who would at once become friendlies if the Americans won, or hostile if they were defeated. On the way Colonel Gilliam met his death. This was entirely accidental, but was none the less to be lamented. In attempting to draw a lariat rope from a wagon, or as was said by some, while an aide, or teamster called "California" was removing some mats at the front—a loaded gun was discharged, the bullet taking effect in the head, and death being instant. This occurred at the springs toward the west from the Umatilla.

After this the struggle took the usual course of Indian wars. Troops were kept in the field under the general command of Colonel Lee, a very able and discreet officer. As spring opened, the Cayuses were chased from one section to another. One company followed their trail into the land of the Red Wolf—pursuing into the country of the Nez Percés, but found no hostiles. But some of the troops showing great rashness, or exasperation at their long chase for nothing, and an Indian at the head of a band of cattle being killed as he declared the stock did not belong to the hostiles, it became evident that disturb-

ances with friendly Indians might be aroused and the troops were withdrawn. Pursuit was also made on the Snake, and a crossing near the mouth of the Imnaha was effected, a slight skirmish being had with supposedly hostile Indians; and the chase was continued through the Grande Ronde country. Wearing as this was upon the volunteers, and annoyed as they were by the constant efforts of the commissioners to halt and hold a conference, it proved nevertheless the proper mode. To whatever tribes the Cayuses went their presence was unwelcome and became a menace. The moderation enforced by the commissioners, although exasperating to worn and angry men, who had been duped as on the Tukannon more than once, and who were well nigh persuaded to say that every Indian was an enemy, served the purpose of inducing the friendly or neutral tribes to hasten the Cayuses on and help the troops after them. As it was known also to the Cayuses that it was only the murderers that were wanted, and if these were delivered the war would end, the moderate party in their own bands became tired of being chased over mountain and valley, and losing their stock, and becoming the poorest of the tribes. The murderers therefore became less and less respected among their own people, until they were segregated, deserted, and finally were captured by Nez Perces on the John Day. These were brought to Oregon City, given a fair trial, being defended by Mr. K. Pritchett; and upon conviction were publicly exe-

cuted by hanging; Jos. L. Meek being the United States marshal and inflicting the well deserved penalty. This occurred May 21, 1850.

Although the Cayuse tribe did not undergo a heavy loss of men in this war, the moral suffering involved was overwhelming. From being the Romans of the upper country tribes and recognized leaders, they became the least influential. Their spirit was completely broken, and they gradually dwindled, and in no long course of time even their old proud name was disused; they became known chiefly as Umatillas. Their old language was also discarded; they now use jargon, or the Nez Perce. Their distinguishing character among the Indians, that of arrogance and impudence, without forethought or capacity for combination—by which the tribes said to have been derived from the same ancient stock, the Molallas and Snoqualamichs were known—was discredited among the tribes. The calculating and combinative Kamiahkin and Peopeomoxmox succeeded to the place left vacant by the rash Cayuses.

The historical significance of this struggle upon the young commonwealth of Oregon was two-fold. It was in the first place a demonstration of the seat of authority in the land. A heinous crime had been committed by the tribe supposed to be the most powerful, and in all probability able to bring about a coalition of warlike and well armed tribes, whose combined forces numbered thousands. It was an act setting at defiance all authority and was never

exceeded in atrocity. It must be punished. For over thirty years the Hudson's Bay Company had been the authority in the land. By diplomatic arrangement the sovereignty had been transferred from their government to the American Government. But this was as yet but a paper transference. Not an American soldier had set foot on the Oregon soil to execute the will of a United States official. To whom then did the actual sovereignty go? Must it be resumed by the British Fur Company in the interim? The answer was prompt and decisive. It went to the American people. The American Government was not here; but the American people were. The sovereignty was naturally and voluntarily surrendered to the American people when Douglas sent McBean's letter to Governor Abernethy. The sovereignty was at once taken up with a promptness, decision, and wisdom that could not have been exceeded by McLoughlin himself. Both justice and humanity were fulfilled in the exemplary punishment of the guilty and the preservation of peace with the innocent. It had been the belief of the Hudson's Bay people that the Americans might get the country, but they could not govern the Indians. The conduct and results of the Cayuse War proved that they could. They were capable of both execution and moderation.

In the second place, this war had a greatly unifying effect upon the population. It served the same purpose as the broken ledges that form the Umatilla Rapids of the Columbia; for many miles above the

lordly river flows as two streams; the turbid water of the Snake maintaining its flow on the south side, the clear water of the Columbia on the north; but here the two are blended. At the beginning of the war the Hudson's Bay people evidently intended to hold aloof. It was the manifest spirit of McBean to say, "The Americans have got the country; let them hold it if they can; it is no quarrel of ours." Under this impulse he turned fugitives of the massacre from his doors. Douglas, seeing the claims of humanity, and how the acts of his company would be scanned by the world, said at once: "We will fulfil the full measure of this claim. We will rescue the captives; but beyond that let the Americans finish the business." Under this impulse he dispatched Ogden to Walla Walla, but refused ammunition to the Oregon volunteers. It must be American powder and lead now; not British. Ogden declared to the Indians that they had committed crime, and that the Americans would cut them off of the earth; but his company was neutral. But once the necessity was clearly seen McKay felt that his heart was with the Americans. With Gervais and the Canadians he shouldered his rifle and marched shoulder to shoulder with the men of the United States. Douglas found a way to furnish the supplies he at first refused. Newell and Palmer and Applegate, all known to be moderate and even friendly to the company, were advanced to the most responsible positions. Ogden, the most practical man in the company, soon saw cause to change his

opinion deprecating an invasion of the Cayuses' country, and cheerfully admitted that the course pursued would soon disintegrate the force of the murderers; and later spoke most feelingly of protecting "our adopted country." McLoughlin, no longer in the councils of the British, saw in the effective work of the Canadians of French Prairie a wise result of his policy of colonization of old servants, making them thus a nucleus of patriotism, rather than scattered and disaffected renegadoes among tribes of hostile natives. Finally, the demonstration was complete at last that it was for this critical time that the Provisional Government had providently, if not providentially, been erected and nursed up from its infant feebleness.

The second great formative event acting upon the young commonwealth, that of the discovery of gold in California, will be included among the subjects treated in following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE SISTER STATE OF TEXAS

AFFAIRS in Oregon reached a crisis at precisely the same time as in the sister Territory of Texas. This in itself would warrant the presumption that the growth of each was due chiefly to national causes. Each was the child of a national movement and a national aspiration arising from needs of the people of the United States. Yet, illustrating how our nation realizes its ends through the just balancing of local and partisan necessities, neither the Texas nor the Oregon question could have reached settlement according to a national requirement separately. Oregon and Texas were sister Territories, not in the sense of belonging both on the same side; but rather in the sense that the two wings of a bird, or the two oars of a row boat, or the pair of muscles of the arm, are related: rather, as noticed by the term in the latter case, as antagonists. But as without the two antagonistic muscles of the arm there would be only paralysis of the member, so without the just recognition of antagonistic interests, there would at the time Oregon and Texas became American territory, have been no national territorial expansion, and the United States would have still been subjected to European interference on this continent. In a former volume it has been noticed how circumstances much against all his previous political bias led Jefferson to exclaim that the United States and France were no longer natural friends, but natural enemies. The two could no longer agree if

France still held the mouth of the Mississippi, and he saw at first no alternative but to cultivate friendship with England in order to check France. But his fears were most happily relieved by the proposition of Napoleon, who was no longer able to retain the Louisiana territory, to dispose of the whole domain to the American Republic.

The second great national expansion arose from the same necessity. The boundaries of Texas, as of Oregon, were indeterminate, and therefore became disputed. France, when possessing the Louisiana territory, claimed as far south and west as the Rio Grande; Spain claimed as far North and East as the Sabine. This dispute, however, was deemed of little importance, and was held over as merely a convenient claim if a really vital disagreement arose, when it might be advantageously employed by one or the other as a counterweight. When Louisiana was ceded to the United States the dispute assumed a more vital importance, but was not vigorously pressed by the United States. But it became necessary to settle the disturbances arising from the incursions of the Indians from Florida, still Spanish territory, and in 1819 the treaty was negotiated settling all territorial disputes with Spain. By this Florida became a possession of the United States, and the south line of the old Louisiana territory was fixed, the boundary line between the American and Spanish claim in the southwest being drawn as far north and east as the Sabine River. By this the vast and noble region of

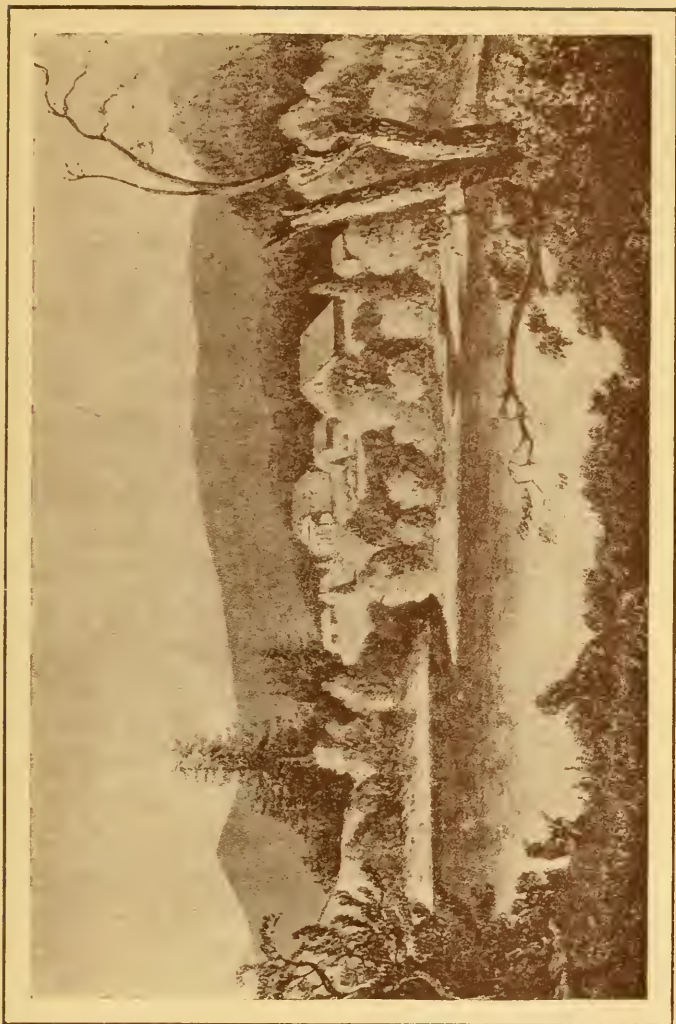
Texas was excluded for the time from the territory of the Republic. This caused considerable complaint at the south and west, and it became in no long course of time an object of the southern and southwestern people to acquire Texas. Not only did they feel a local interest in an adjoining region, and desire that it be brought in to strengthen their section and its peculiar institutions, but they had a profound feeling that our government had a right to it, and that this right had been bartered away.

Almost immediately therefore plans for American colonization were formed for occupying the country between the Sabine and Rio Grande. These, and the events succeeding, although not immediately bearing upon the story of Oregon, will be useful for reference, and illustrate the national character of the movement that swept the entire western and southern portions of the continent, from the Straits of Fuca down the coast and to the mouth of the Colorado, and eastward to the mouth of the Rio Grande, into the domain of the Great Republic.

In 1820 Moses Austin, of Missouri, secured a land grant in the central part of Texas, with the right to colonize this with three hundred families. His son, Stephen F. Austin, made the effort to carry out the design, and conducted colonists thither in 1822. The next year, although the Mexican revolution had occurred, and Spain no longer occupied American territory, Austin was confirmed in his grant by Mexico, and his rights were so far extended as to allow settle-

ment of five hundred more families. But the political condition of Mexico was much disturbed, rival presidents assuming position of dictator, and the privileges accorded the American settlers were overlooked. Under Hayden Edwards, of the American colony, an attempt to secure these rights by force was suppressed and the right of colonization was revoked by Bustamente, the new dictator, in 1830. The policy of this administrator was to unite the Americans of Texas under the government of the genuinely Mexican state of Coahuila. But in 1832, two years later, Bustamente was himself opposed by the Mexican people who desired constitutional rather than personal government, and the Texans seized the opportunity to oppose the dictator, and defeated his lieutenant, Piedras, who was dispatched to hold the Texas country for his master. The next year the Americans in Texas felt strong enough to attempt organization of a state separate from Coahuila. But in 1835 this state, together with that of Coahuila, was overthrown by the new dictator, the celebrated Santa Anna. The Texas people then appointed immediately a committee of safety, and seized the important military positions in their territory, and November 3 established a provisional government with Henry Smith as governor, and Sam. Houston as commander-in-chief. In December following a Declaration of Independence was promulgated, and the Mexicans were driven from the territory.

The dictator, however, was not willing to lose so



COEUR D'ALENE MISSION

Reproduced from "Life of General Isaac I. Stevens."

great a section of his empire, and gathering a force of 7,500 men came north to reclaim his lost Texas. Then followed the memorable defense of the Texan band of about 172 men; another Thermopylæ; thirty-two of the defenders having fought their way to the garrison of 120, already besieged, and sharing their fate. At a loss of 1,600—as reported—to Santa Anna the works were carried by storm and with medieval barbarity the Americans were put to the sword. This was March 6th. Within six weeks, Houston, who had gathered a force of 800 Texas riflemen, and had fallen back from defense to defense with the idea of scattering and disorganizing the Mexicans, which was done with good success, made a stand at the Colorado, gave battle and totally demoralized the army of Santa Anna, who commanded in person; killing, wounding and capturing over 1,600 of the enemy. Among the captured was the Mexican dictator.

In September of 1836 Houston was elected president, and March, 1837, the independence of Texas was acknowledged by the United States; in 1839 by France, and in 1840 by England, Holland and Belgium. Open hostilities with Mexico were ended, but many secret expeditions from both sides of the Rio Grande were encouraged, both by Mexican and Texan authorities. There was almost a chronic disturbance on the Rio Grande. This led to the belief that Texas by itself was not a state of sufficient power to maintain a peaceful condition, suited to guarantee the business and to protect the capital that wished to be

employed in these promising fields. The Texas country was therefore still in a state of unstable political equilibrium, and was open to the schemes of both political and capitalistic adventurers.

Here again was offered opportunity for instigators of European interference in North America. As we have already noticed, English capitalists had made a large loan to Mexico. This was secured upon lands in California. Upon such security it would have been an easy step to grant rights of settlement and trade in that country that would have ended in British colonization. As it was, the governors of California and the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver were on excellent terms; but the trade with San Francisco did not justify continuing a station there, as had been attempted under Mr. Rae, a son-in-law of McLoughlin, and this was abandoned shortly before the discovery of gold. With this *rapprochement* with Mexico, and prospect of gaining an influence in California, a definite policy began to be disclosed that the independence of Texas should be guaranteed by Great Britain, jointly by Great Britain and France; and that slavery should be excluded. This would have reduced American influence to a minimum, and opened the possibility that Great Britain would have suzerain control from the Rio Grande to the mouth of the Colorado and across to the Pacific, and north to the Oregon line; and from the mouth of the Columbia to the Russian possessions. The American territory, the thin slice from

latitude forty-two to forty-six, without any harbors worth keeping, and already occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company colony, would have been the sole exception, and would have been impossible to hold, either from a commercial or political point of view. This was as yet but a possibility, but it was evidently present as such to the British mind, and without energetic action on the part of Americans, there is little doubt but the possibility would have grown into probability, and that in no long time would have ripened into fact.

By this situation the administration of Tyler—1841-1845—elected vice-president with William Henry Harrison, who died soon after his inauguration, was confronted. Webster, as already noticed, became alarmed, and undertook a final adjustment of all the difficulties and a settlement of all the boundaries—northeast, northwest and southwest. It was a repetition of the condition immediately following the Revolutionary War, when England wished to bring Canadian territory to the Ohio, and France and Spain wished to erect a great Indian territory east of the Mississippi under Spanish control; and again in 1800, when France was ready to resume control of Louisiana, and limit the United States to the boundary of the Mississippi; and again after the War of 1812, when England wished to erect a great northwest Indian territory, between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, which the United States should neither disturb nor buy. So now the European powers saw

the opportunity to limit the march of the American people to the Mexican territory, and west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. That this has been a persistent disposition of Europe, and has awakened whenever the United States was quiescent or pre-occupied, was again demonstrated when, during our Civil War Louis Napoleon, with British sanction, attempted to place a member of the house of Austria over the Mexican people. The peril was not so much, during Tyler's administration, that the Great Republic would actually be limited, but that the territory required by the American people could, after European complications had once been allowed to enter as a factor, be secured only by a world-wide war. Occupation of any controlling part of North America by European powers had always been attended by wars of European violence.

It was the hope of forefending his nation from such a contingency that Webster, though no better pleased than his associates with the Democratic tendencies of President Tyler, retained his portfolio as Secretary of State, and formulated the policy that has already been outlined in a preceding volume. He believed that he could arrange between England, Mexico and the United States, for the peaceful admission of Texas, and cession of a part of California, including San Francisco Bay and northward to Oregon; and in consideration of these large concessions to the United States, relinquish to England the mouth of the Columbia and northward, including all of the

Straits of Fuca and Puget Sound. To his apprehension this was a masterful policy, and would give the United States practical control of North America. But before he had time to conclude the project it became manifest that this would be so unpopular with the American people that it could not succeed. The special missions that he had in view to carry it out—that he should go to London, and Everett to China—failed. The whole situation, unrelieved, still confronted Tyler when Webster resigned, and this was the uppermost task of John C. Calhoun, who took up the work where Webster laid it down. Great as was the acumen of the greatest of American statesmen, it failed to meet the aspirations of the people of the West, who had a truer apprehension than he of the stable boundaries of the Republic. Webster's boundary, even though drawn, would not have been stable.

Calhoun represented the politician, who is sometimes a wiser man than the statesman. He made no pretense but to represent the will of the people. He therefore demanded that all Oregon up to Fifty-four Forty be allowed to the United States and negotiated a treaty with Texas for admission of the Lone Star State as a member of the Union. That his heart was not in his claims for Oregon soon became apparent, but the claim was made, as only so could he press the annexation of Texas. The question of slavery was now fast absorbing all interest and obscuring even the greater question of national life. As has been stated by Dr. John Fiske, the real question here

was not of the abolition of slavery, or the rights of the negro, but whether government by representation could be preserved. The final triumph of the Union illustrated that even so profound a moral and economic difference as was represented by the Northern and Southern States, could not break up a system of representative government. As the leader of the Democracy, it was apparent to Calhoun that the South and West must be united. It was apparent that Texas must be admitted as slave territory. It was apparent that on this demand northern territory as a counterpoise must be admitted. Oregon, to its full extent, was therefore freely demanded. Against such a combination there could be no effective opposition.

Calhoun's treaty failed in the Senate, on the ground that it would certainly bring on war with Mexico. Northern senators were also reluctant to extend slave territory. The South had been alarmed, and was desirous of pressing its policy for the perpetuation of its labor system—which was candidly believed to be the only one adapted to the conditions of the Southern States—beyond all danger. By this the slave power became aggressive and active; and their measures were already distrusted by many at the North as not only calculated to safeguard the interest of Southern industry, but as to extend slavery over the entire territory of the Union. Though none became more willing to grant all that the South desired than Webster, who would give them Texas, even without Oregon, to overbalance this acquisi-

tion to slave territory; and favored the fugitive slave law; in his perfect understanding that the national life, rather than any system of labor or of morals, was the part to be guarded; yet the opposition to the annexation of Texas could not be immediately overcome. But the result of the election of 1844 was decisive. Before Tyler's term expired, a joint resolution passed Congress, in January, 1845, favoring annexation of Texas. This received the President's approval March 1; the last vestige of his Whig affiliations having now disappeared. July 4th of the same year, the people of Texas, by a general convention, ratified a State constitution, upon which, in December, they were admitted by Congress as a part of the American Union.

The events that followed are well known. In March of the next year Zachary Taylor was sent by President Polk to occupy the territory beyond the Nueces to the Rio Grande, still in dispute between Texas and Mexico. This could hardly have been done except with the purpose to precipitate war, for which Mexico was no doubt preparing, and perhaps hoping for European alliances. May 11th the President sent a message to Congress that a state of war existed, Taylor having been resisted and having fought several battles. An appropriation of ten million dollars and troops to the number of 50,000 were granted for its further prosecution. Within less than a year—February 22, 1847—Taylor fought the battle of Buena Vista. March 9th Scott was at Vera Cruz,

and on September 11th entered the city of Mexico—as Cortez had entered the same capital when under the Montezumas. Fremont and Stockton took possession of California, awaiting the arrival of Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, who left Fort Leavenworth with an American force in August of 1846, passed through and captured Santa Fé, and arriving at Monterey in February of 1847, proclaimed the annexation of all upper California—down to and including the Bay of San Diego—to the United States.

'Thus at a stroke the paramount interest and power of the United States in North America were asserted. Diplomacy had failed to meet the aspirations of the American people. The Western people were right in believing that no foothold large enough to make it an object for any approximate equality of power and interests, should be left to any European power. This was a true national sentiment. Being denied in this by their representatives they willingly took recourse to the only method left, which was war. This was really a defiance to Europe, and many at the West wished that England would take up the gauntlet thus thrown down, that she might also be put entirely out of the continent. But the American destiny was not to be thus worked out. It was, however, little more than accident, as in the case of the interminable border wars with the Indians, that it was the Mexicans who suffered the onslaught of the American riflemen. Our good-will to their republic has been abundantly testified, both in a fair compensation for terri-

tory annexed, and again when Sheridan with his Boys in Blue marched toward the Rio Grande, not this time to fight the Mexicans or to capture their territory, but to unseat Maximilian.

Such was the situation at the close of the period of the Provisional Government in Oregon. Oregon also was ready for admission to the Union. But the promises so loudly made, and so faithfully kept with Texas, were not so well remembered with respect to Oregon. The politicians, who had seen the necessity of electing Mr. Polk President on the platform of Texas and Oregon, were, now that Texas was secure, ready to forget Oregon. The boundary was settled, but no territorial government was provided. As Webster had failed to grasp the truly national character of the demand of the people for Oregon and Texas, and was obliged to leave this for his political enemies to profit by, so now Calhoun and the Southern senators, although placing the demand in their national platform, sought to narrow it from a national to a sectional question. It is a matter of the most intense interest to follow the cleavage made by events, and see whether the Oregon movement adhered with national or sectional policies.

In the preceding volume we found the people of the little Oregon community almost wholly engrossed in local affairs. With whatever national consciousness they arrived here they soon found themselves chiefly occupied with farm and fireside economies, and their governmental activities were limited to fix-

ing bounties on wild animals, getting California cattle, and dealing with the Indians. Their governmental functions during the last of 1847 and all of 1848 were almost exclusively in punishing the Cayuse tribe, and their renegade allies, thus wisely preventing a threatened coalition of all the Indians, and defending their own firesides. The national consciousness, however, did not disappear.

As has been noticed in the preceding volume there had been repeated memorials drawn and sent to Congress by the officers of the Provisional Government, assuring that body of the continued patriotism of the people of Oregon, and that they desired the extension over them of the Federal authority. After the treaty fixing the boundary had been decided it was assumed that a territorial government would be at once provided. But there were constant delays. These were due to the opposition of the Southern members, who were now losing their national consciousness under a fear of sectional discriminations, and under the leadership of Calhoun laid impediments in the way of providing for Oregon. In the summer of 1847 great anxiety began to be felt in Oregon for an immediate government backed up by the power of the United States. There were a number of matters that were causing uneasiness or irritation; the loose condition of land titles being one, as it was not known whether the law of the Provisional Government would be confirmed, and every settler felt that his square mile might not be left him; moreover the legal struggle

at Oregon City between McLoughlin and Waller had become acute, and many who had purchased lots from the former desired a law confirming title to their homes. Uneasiness over the disposition of the Indians was also felt by many. As immigration continued and as land was occupied by the newcomers the Indians were becoming more and more saucy and ugly, and often demanded pay for land, or for passage through their country, which, being refused, they considered themselves justified in stealing any small articles, or even cattle and horses. By this the more passionate whites were liable to be led to retaliation, perhaps punishing or killing the depredators; and thus inflaming the Indians in their turn to acts of violence.

In this situation, as already mentioned, it was decided in the autumn of 1847 to send a representative to Congress to urge personally the desired territorial government. Selection was made of J. Quinn Thornton, then filling the office of Supreme Judge of Oregon under the Provisional Government, to undertake the mission. There was no money in the treasury for such a purpose, and his expenses were met by a note for three hundred dollars executed by Governor Abernethy, M. M. McCarver, and Samuel Parker, jointly, and a draft for \$150 on the Methodist Missionary Society; and also a contribution of fifty barrels of flour by Noyes Smith. Passage was secured on the bark "Whiton," then in the Willamette and loading flour at the site of Portland, under Captain

Roland Ghelston, a captain later well known in California.

As an indication of the feeling of the Oregon community and also of the style of composition of Oregon's first Governor, the following from a letter by Governor Abernethy may be inserted. It was directed to President Polk personally, and intended as an introduction of Judge Thornton.

Oregon City, October 14, 1847.

Sir:—I think it would be well for us, an individual people, without authority, to send a delegate to the Congress of the United States, to represent our interests, under the circumstances; but we cannot claim the jurisdiction of our Government, as our Government has not been extended over us. Neither can we send a minister to represent our Government [Provisional] as we are but a temporary fixture, expecting every few months to come under the permanent government of the United States. Placed in this predicament we have sent petitions and memorials to Congress, but thus far without much effect. Your Excellency has been pleased to manifest a deep and untiring interest in our affairs, for which we, as a people, feel very grateful. But you cannot as a matter of course fully understand our wants, as no person has been sent to represent our case. It seems necessary for some one who has resided here, and who is somewhat acquainted with our wants, and resources [of our country], to visit Washington. I cannot but believe you would feel relieved from uncer-

tainty in having near you a gentleman of education and veracity, whom you could rely upon for information, as to facts at least. The bearer, J. Quinn Thornton, Judge of the Supreme Court, has consented to go to Washington at his own expense, but it is hoped that the Government of the United States will find some way to compensate him. . . .”

Adverting to the relations with the Indians Abernethy continues: “ During the three years past the Indians have become alarmed at the number of Americans that have come to Oregon, and as they are pushed into smaller space, without selling their lands, they are becoming dissatisfied and want pay. Some persons have paid them, while others will not.” After mentioning several disturbances, in one of which a white man and an Indian chief were killed, and suggesting a “ scout patrol ” of mounted men along the line of the immigrant road, he closes— “ With regard to our wants :

“ A recognition of all our legislative and judicial acts that are not inconsistent with the laws which may be passed on organizing a government here; grants of lands to settlers, land for educational purposes; appropriations for the transportation of mails in Oregon and to Oregon [we have postmasters and an agent, but no mail]; a good steamer at the mouth of the Columbia to tow vessels in and out, and a few buoys are wanted, as soon as possible at all seasons of the year; the erection and maintenance of a naval depot will be mentioned in the items and projects of

the Government engineers—whether a good point can be furnished at the mouth of the river, and supplies can be furnished for the navy in a very few years; that a permanent surveying and laying out of a road from the Western States to Oregon—as a great amount of property is annually lost in consequence of the badness of the road—an opening and improving of such a road would be of great benefit to American citizens coming this way. We are under the impression that a steamer is to ply between Panama and the Columbia River, touching at California. This would bring us into the civilized world once more.”

Suggestion is also made as to the President’s message being forwarded, as only extracts taken from Sandwich Island and California papers had been seen until within a month of his letter—an indication both of the slowness of the transmission of intelligence, and that the President had taken no great thought for informing the isolated community in Oregon of his intentions; and a good illustration of the terrific isolation with which that little Oregon community was still invested.

Judge Thornton’s story of his journey, and the situation at Washington, has been graphically related in his “History of the Provisional Government”; portions of which, giving the narrative, will be inserted here. He says:

“In the spring of 1847 Dr. Whitman being at my residence in Oregon City, spoke to me very freely on the subject of his mission, and of the perils to which

he feared all connected with it were exposed. And he said that he believed that nothing short of the speedy establishment of a territorial government to supersede the Provisional Government would save him and his mission from falling under the murderous hands of the savages. And he urged me to yield to the solicitation I had received to go to Washington City on behalf of the people and the Provisional Government* for this and other purposes. I had sought to induce Peter H. Burnett to go, being myself averse to doing so. But this interview decided me; and when Dr. Whitman was about to depart for his field of mission labor I promised that I would do as he desired, if Governor Abernethy would furnish me with the necessary letter to the President of the United States." In addition to the specific object of urging the passage of a law to establish a territorial government he wished to forward building of lighthouses, roads, naval station, a land law, a line of posts across the continent after Whitman's idea, as shown in his bill prepared at request of Secretary Porter; troops, and a revenue cutter; fortification of Cape Hancock and several other matters.

He continues: "On Monday, October 18th, I proceeded to Green Point, the residence of his excellency, George Abernethy, the Governor of the Provisional Government, and after resigning my office of the Judge of the Supreme Court I received his letter to the President of the United States. I then embarked

* This item bears some mark of being an afterthought.

with Captain Roland Ghelston in his gig, and in a very short time my humble but pleasant home was lost to my sight. The regular plash of the oars as we glided down the beautiful Wallamet seemed much in harmony with my emotions, which I am almost ashamed to confess oppressed me with sadness while the responsibilities I had undertaken weighed heavily upon my heart. . . . Congress had permitted this unhappy omission [of a territorial government] because of the impossibility of their knowing the real condition and wants of their brothers of this distant and isolated portion of our common country, and because of slavery becoming an element of the question.

“ On board the ‘ Whiton ’ I was conveyed first to San Francisco, and thence to the southern extremity of the Peninsula of Lower California, where Captain Ghelston informed me that he had determined upon engaging in trade with Mazatlan, on the western coast of Mexico, and that he therefore could take me no further. The United States sloop of war ‘ Portsmouth,’ Captain Montgomery, was lying at anchor in the open roadstead off the point, and hearing of my dilemma he sent Lieutenant Bartlett to the ‘ Whiton,’ with a message to me inviting me on board the ‘ Portsmouth ’ and requesting me to bring with me any papers showing my relations to the Provisional Government of Oregon, and the nature and object of my mission to Washington. This I did, of course, and the interview ended by his offering to give up his cabin to my exclusive use, and convey me

as a guest to Boston Harbor. It required about three weeks to get the ship ready. But this being done we sailed for Boston, and the ship being one of the best in the United States navy, we cast anchor in the port of our destination on the 2d of May, 1848."

It has been somewhere suggested that Captain Montgomery was undoubtedly anxious to go home to the Atlantic States and considered the stranded condition of the first Oregon delegate, or envoy, as offering a good opportunity for a return of himself and ship from exile in the Pacific. However this may be, there was perhaps never a more important cruise than that of the "Portsmouth" conveying Judge Thornton to Boston. Courtesy and patriotism, even though the thought of home were also included, made this act of the American captain memorable in the annals of the United States navy. It was an act performed clearly within the limits of the "national consciousness," and proved to be of the utmost importance in bringing out at the capital national feelings that were already beginning to be obscured under the clouds of sectional strife.

Thornton proceeded at once to Washington, where he met and conferred with the President and Senators Benton and Douglas; by whom, on account of the irregularity of his situation, being neither delegate nor envoy, but merely an Oregon citizen, he was advised to prepare a memorial setting forth the needs and expectations of the Oregon people. As stated by the historian Brown, Thornton was well received.

“ There was an anomaly in the case of Oregon that commanded the admiration of the world and secured for the representative of this region universal attention and respect. A handful of Americans, who seemed animated as much by patriotic as personal feeling, had taken their leave of civilized life and with their household *penates* had crossed the wilderness of the mid-continent to make homes on the banks of the Oregon. Their presence had settled the dispute as to the boundary, and had terminated the long period of joint occupancy. The world read of this immigration with almost reverence for the few who had dared so much and had reclaimed the beautiful region by the Pacific not only from savagery but from British rule and occupation. The advent in Washington of one of these greater than Argonauts, as a representative of his fellow Oregonians, who had only in time reached the national capital by half circumnavigating the entire globe; the fact of a growing community so remote from trade that they had no money and had only actual barter and exchange of products to depend on—all this cast a glamour of romance over the much-voyaging representative of far-off Oregon, and made his presence at Washington not only a welcome event, but gave him influence and personal magnetism and power that—most fortunately for Oregon—he proved himself wise enough to use to good advantage.”

The condition of the various bills for providing a territorial government for Oregon was found to

be very unsatisfactory. It was an apple of discord because, in conformity with the twice expressed determination of the people of Oregon, there was included in its government the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude. This situation is so well described by Thomas H. Benton in a letter to the Oregon people, and is moreover so fine a piece of contemporary evidence confirming the impressions given from memory by Judge Thornton, that it may be used here. It is also an admirable exhibition of the fatherly feeling of the senator from Missouri, and illustrates that under our system of government the men of broad national sympathies may find a fitting arena in the national councils. He writes, Washington City, March, 1847:

“ My Friends:— (For such I may call many of you from personal acquaintance, all of you from my thirty years’ devotion to the interests of your country), I think it right to make this communication to you at the present moment, when the adjournment of Congress, without passing a bill for your government and protection, seems to have left you in a state of abandonment by your mother country. But such is not the case. You are not abandoned. Nor will you be denied protection unless you agree to admit slavery. I, a man of the South and a slaveholder, tell you this. The House of Representatives, as early as the middle of January, had passed the bill to give you a territorial government, and in that bill had legalized and sanctioned your Provisional Organic act, one of the

clauses of which forever prohibited the existence of slavery in Oregon. An amendment from the Senate's Committee, to which the bill was referred, proposed to abrogate that prohibition, and in the delays and vexations to which that amendment gave rise the whole bill was laid on the table and lost for that session. This will be a great disappointment to you and a great calamity, already five years without law or legal institutions for the protection of life, liberty and property, and now doomed to wait a year longer. This is a strange and anomalous condition, almost incredible to contemplate and most critical to endure. A colony of freemen four thousand miles from the metropolitan government to preserve them. But do not be alarmed or desperate. You will not be outlawed for not admitting slavery.

“ Your fundamental act against that institution, copied from the ordinance of 1787 (the work of great men of the South, in the great day of the South, prohibiting slavery in a territory far less Northern than your own) will not be abrogated. Nor is that the intention of the prime mover of the amendment. . . . Oregon is not the object. The most rabid propagandist of slavery cannot expect to plant it on the shores of the Pacific in the latitude of Wisconsin and the lake of the Woods. A home agitation for election and disunion purposes, is all that is intended by thrusting this firebrand question into your bill as it ought to be. I promise you this in the name of the South as

well as of the North; and the event will not deceive me. . . .

“ In conclusion I have to assure you that the same spirit which has made me the friend of Oregon for thirty years—which led me to denounce the joint occupation treaty the day it was made, and to oppose its renewal in 1828, and to labor for its abrogation until it was terminated, the same spirit which led me to reveal the grand destiny of Oregon in articles written in 1818, and to support every measure for her benefit since—the same spirit animates me and will continue to do so while I live—which I hope will be long enough to see an emporium of Asiatic commerce at the mouth of your river and a stream of Asiatic trade pouring into the valley of the Mississippi through the channel of Oregon.”

Senator Benton's conviction that the strenuous pro-slavery members from the South were injecting the question into the Oregon bill for simple election purposes—or for the far more questionable purposes of disunion—was hardly justified by the event. Here already appeared the distinction that divided at length the old Democratic party. Benton, as Douglas afterward, desired to treat slavery as a local question, and allow the people of the respective territories, as they entered the Union, to decide the character of their industrial system. But the Southern leaders already determined to make of it a national issue. It was already evident that not only Oregon, but perhaps California, would prefer a system of free labor.

If the greater part of the territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War should choose freedom, the representatives of the free States in Congress would have the weight of power, and the South then felt that slavery would not be secure even in the slave States. This, no doubt, the penetrating mind of Calhoun already discerned, and for the present he preferred to attempt to hold slave and free territory even, and not allow the question upon which he felt that the pre-eminence of the South depended to be decided by the preferences of the new territories. He was not yet ready for the position afterward assumed by Jefferson Davis, that when the slavery question ceased to be a national question, the South would withdraw from the Union. His contention, that this was a national question, as afterward considered by Abraham Lincoln, was undoubtedly correct; but it only arrayed his section against the irrefragible National Idea.

With the arrival of Thornton, whose objects and movements the Northern papers took good care to make thoroughly known, the question of a territorial government for Oregon, and the question whether the people of this State were to be allowed to choose their own industrial system, was brought to a crisis. The necessity of some government was made supremely apparent by the arrival overland of Jos. L. Meek, bringing the detailed news of the Whitman massacre, and the request of the Provisional Government of Oregon for troops to restrain the Indians. At the

request of Benton, Douglas, Vinton and other friends of Oregon, Thornton revised the former Oregon bills, inserting as before the ordinance of 1787, and adjusting its other features to meet the wishes of the people of his territory. He was approached by many of the Southern members, assuring him that if he would but leave out the anti-slavery clause the bill would be passed without opposition. This he firmly declined to do. When finally offered, being first proposed in the Senate, the Oregon bill proved to be the firebrand described by Benton. On account of the excitement raised by the discussion of slavery it was thought best not to include the land law in the bill for a territorial government. This was formulated and introduced separately, and passed without much opposition in 1850; the Southern members being anxious to show that they had the warmest personal feelings for the people of Oregon, which they also expressed in words and many acts of courtesy to Thornton.

The scene of the first debate in the Senate has thus been described by Thornton.

“ The debate when the bill was first in the Senate was one of thrilling interest. ‘ There were giants in those days,’ and the field on which they fought and measured strength with each other was one in which no man could be at a loss to find a foeman worthy of his steel, since here might be encountered such mighty men as Douglas and Benton, Webster, Calhoun and Corwin. The last named gentleman having gotten

the floor in debate on the Oregon bill, the Senate adjourned. In this manner it became known at once through the city that Mr. Corwin would on the next day, after the preliminary business of the morning hour had been disposed of, address the Senate on that bill—the provision in it, taken from the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery being the point of his departure, and human rights the subject of his address. At an early hour the gallery was literally packed full of the élite and beauty of the capital, most of them being brought hither by an unconquerable desire to witness the triumph of right over wrong, and of reason over passion, which they felt sure would be achieved by their favorite orator's burning words consuming to ashes the sophisms relied upon by the advocates of slavery to defend the most gigantic evil that ever cursed a nation or stained its escutcheon. On the floor were diplomatic representatives from every court of Europe, already impatient to drink in the inspiration of the wonderful eloquence of an orator who had no equal in some respects, and no superior in any.

“ The preliminary business of the morning hour having been hurried through, Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, rose to his feet; and during two hours, commencing with his saying ‘ Mr. President,’ and ending with the close of his wonderful address, no other sound was heard save occasionally that of one who seemed to catch at his breath, and no movement could be seen save in the varying muscles of the faces of the listen-

ing hearers as the orator's matchless manner, melodious voice, and ready command of most apt language alternately melted the heart into pity or kindled it into resentment, while with inimitable skill and unequaled power, he portrayed 'the sum of all villainies.' . . .

" When Mr. Corwin closed his memorable speech there seemed to be quite an interval before those who heard gained their self-recollection, and a motion was made for the adjournment of the Senate. As with others I was slowly and thoughtfully retiring, Father Richie, the most venerable journalist in the United States, a life-long advocate of slavery, and at that time editor of the Government organ, nervously laid his hand on my shoulder, and with lips white as paper and quivering with emotion he said, ' A few speeches such as that would sever the bonds of this Union.' "

After discussion in the Senate the bill was sent to the House, meeting there also with much contention, and being modified by a few unimportant amendments was returned to the Senate for final passage. It was evident, in spite of the efforts of Calhoun and the other members from the South, that there was a majority for its passage. It became therefore the tactics of the opposing Senators, Calhoun, Davis, Foote, and others, to delay a vote until the time fixed for adjournment, which was August 14th. Thornton continues his narrative:

" On Saturday morning, August 12th, Mr. Benton, Mr. Douglas and John P. Hale sent for me to meet

them in one of the retiring-rooms. They there informed me that the leading friends of the bill, then known to be in the majority, had on the night before determined on a 'golden silence,' as the line upon which to receive the onset of the enemy; and that the supporters of the proposed law would, under no circumstances, change their tactics . . . to make no replies to the enemies of the bill, but to vote against all the usual motions for adjournment from that time [Saturday morning, August 12, 1848] until Monday, 12 o'clock, M. I entered the senate chamber with the deepest feelings of solicitude, and yet hopeful because of the assurances which had been given me. I soon saw, however, that Calhoun and Butler, of South Carolina; Davis and Foote, of Mississippi; and Hunter and Mason, of Virginia, as leaders of the opposition, had girded up their loins, and had buckled on their armor for the battle. . . .

"The friends of the bill, led by Mr. Benton, having taken their position, waited calmly for the onset of their adversaries, who spent Saturday until the usual hour of adjournment in skirmishing in force, as if feeling the strength of their opponents. When the motion was made at the usual time in the afternoon for adjournment the friends of the bill came pouring out of the retiring-rooms, and on coming inside the bar, they voted 'No' with very marked emphasis. I ought to explain, perhaps, that when any of the friends of the Oregon bill went into this room to rest upon lounges and to smoke and chat and tell anec-

dotes, they left behind a trusty corps to observe the movements of the enemy, and through a vigilant page, stationed at the door, to give notice when it was necessary to rise and rush inside the bar to vote 'No' on all motions for adjournment."

During the evening occurred the altercation between Benton and Butler, of South Carolina; this was brought on by Butler attempting to thrust aside the Oregon bill and bring up charges against Benton as having disclosed action taken in secret session, and characterizing Benton's conduct as "dishonorable," at which Benton rose and advancing toward Butler gave him the lie; and an encounter was prevented only by interference of other members.

Thornton continues: "Order being at length restored, the vote was taken on Judge Butler's motion to go into executive session; but the real object of the motion being seen to be the defeat of the Oregon bill through the consumption of time, it was lost. General Foote, the colleague of Jefferson Davis, then rose and in a drawling tone assumed for the occasion, said his powers of endurance he believed would enable him to continue his address to the Senate until Monday, 12 o'clock, M., and although he could not promise to say much on the Oregon bill, he could not doubt that he would be able to interest and greatly edify the distinguished senators. The friends of the bill seeing what was before them posted a page in the doorway opening into one of the retiring-rooms, and then after detailing a few of their number to keep

watch and ward on the floor of the Senate, withdrew into the room of which I have spoken to chat and tell anecdotes and drink wine, or perhaps something even much stronger, and thus to wear away the slowly and heavily passing hours of that memorable Saturday night. Soon great clouds of smoke filled the room, and from it issued the sound of the clink of glasses, and of loud conversation, almost drowning the eloquence of the Mississippi senator as he repeated the Bible story of the cosmogony of the world, the creation of man, the taking from his side the rib from which Eve was made, her talking with the 'Snake,' as he called the Evil One, the fall of man, etc., etc. The galleries were soon deserted. Many of the aged senators prostrated themselves upon the sofas in one of the retiring-rooms and slept soundly, while 'thoughts that breathed and words that burned' fell in glowing eloquence. Thoughts that breathed and words that burned' fell in glowing elo-

"At intervals of about one hour the speaker would yield the floor to a motion to adjourn, coming from the opposition. Then the sentinel page at the door would give the notice to the waking senators in the retiring-rooms, and these would immediately arouse the slumbering senators, and all would rush pell mell through the doorway, and when the inside of the bar was reached, would vote 'No' with a thundering emphasis. . . .

"Occasionally Southern senators, toward Sunday morning, relieved General Foote by short dull speeches, to which friends of the bill vouchsafed no

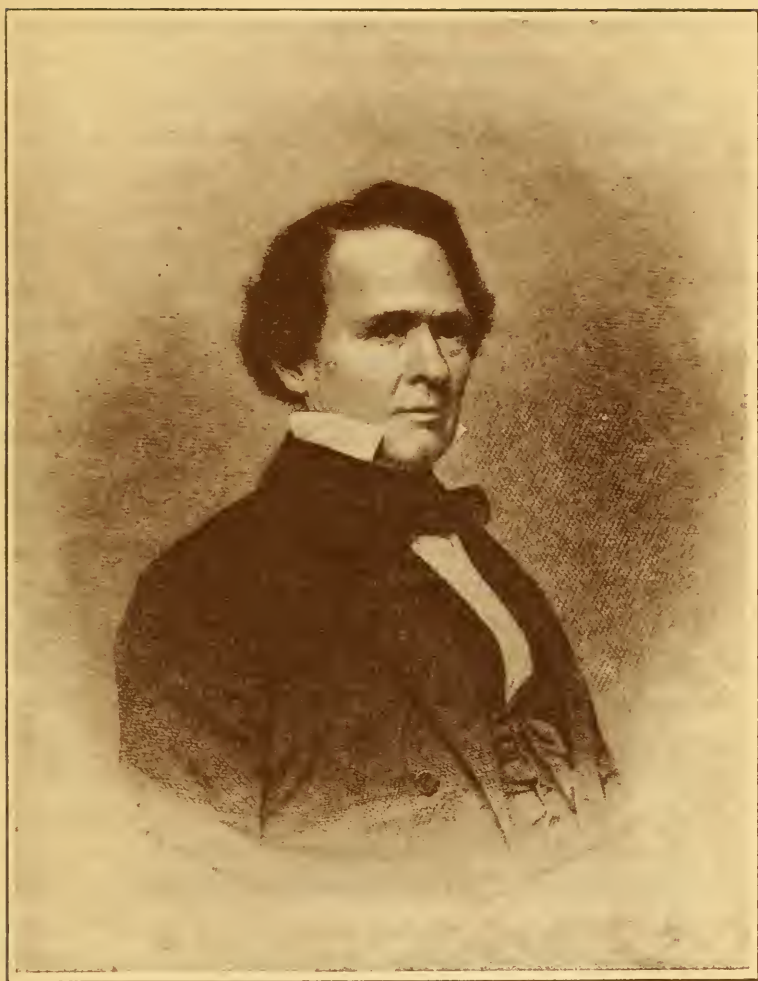
answer; so that Mr. Calhoun and his Southern friends had things for the most part their own way until Sabbath morning, August 13, 1848, at about 8 o'clock; when the leading opponents of the bill collected together in a knot, and after conversing together a short time in an undertone, the Mississippi senator, who had been so edifying during the night, said that no further opposition would be made to taking a vote on the bill. The ayes and noes were then called and the bill passed."

It is stated in this connection by Thornton that, for Foote, Benton entertained feelings of supreme contempt, as for Calhoun he reserved an equal hatred; and that after adjournment as Thornton and Benton were returning home together, and Benton spoke of the attack upon him by Butler, he stated that he did not so much blame Judge Butler as "that scoundrel Calhoun," who egged him on.

In this final conflict of words and feelings in the Senate chamber, dwindling down into the regions of parliamentary absurdity, the members from the South became convinced that it was the desire of the majority of the States that Oregon be allowed a territorial, and ultimately a State government, under institutions of their own choosing. They did not represent the entire pro-slavery element of the nation; some of the Democrats as well as Whigs voting for the Oregon bill. This they found to be the settled conviction, which would not yield to either opposition, personal indignities, delay, or burlesque.

Further opposition was therefore useless, and prolongation of the courtesies of the Senate, in continuing the discussion, would only rouse general antagonism, and react disadvantageously upon themselves. Consequently they gave up the struggle, and the idea of withdrawal from the Union began from this, and future scenes of like character, to be regarded as the only possible solution of the question of slavery in accordance with their preconceptions. When, under Douglas, the northern wing of the Democratic party accepted formally the principle contended for in the Oregon bill, that of "Squatter Sovereignty," the southern Democrats, trained by Calhoun, believed that the hour for separation had arrived.

Soon after the bill had passed Congress and had received the approval of the President, officers for a territorial government were appointed and set out for Oregon. General Joseph Lane was selected as Governor, General John Adair as Collector of Customs, Wm. P. Bryant, O. C. Pratt, and Peter H. Burnett as Territorial Judges, and Jos. L. Meek as United States Marshal. These were men of note, and Lane was a man of high military distinction. Lane crossed the country in company with Meek by the southern route through New Mexico and by way of San Francisco, where he arrived in February of 1849, and taking there a passage on the brig "Jannett" (Janet), reached Oregon in March, and on the third of the month issued a proclamation and at once assumed the duties of his office. No appointment could have been



JOSEPH LANE

more agreeable to the wishes of the people of Oregon, who were largely from the South and West, and liked a man of Lane's antecedents and manner.

The following from an address of Senator Nesmith is an admirable summary of Lane's previous history:

“ Joseph Lane was born in North Carolina on the 14th of December, 1801. His father removed to Henderson County, Kentucky—then a frontier State—in 1804. The educational advantages of the son were meager. From early boyhood until he attained the age of twenty years he was alternately employed upon the farm, in the office of the county clerk, and in a country store. The following year he was elected to the Legislature. For twenty-five years almost continuously he represented his county in one branch or the other of the state legislature. When the war commenced with Mexico he resigned his seat in the legislature in the state senate and enlisted as a private soldier, his company, with several others, having assembled at New Albany and formed a regiment, Lane, the private soldier, was elected colonel. Shortly afterward he received from President Polk the commission of brigadier-general. He immediately set out for the seat of war in command of three regiments of Indiana volunteers, and in two weeks' time landed at the Brazos and reported for duty. His brigade was assigned to Major-General W. O. Butler's division. At the battle of Buena Vista he commanded the left wing of the army and commenced the action by attacking a division of the Mexican army,

numbering 50,000, commanded by General Ampudia. In the course of the battle he was in the hottest of the fight, and was severely wounded by a musket ball, which passed through his right arm near the shoulder; but remained upon his horse and in command of his troops until the enemy were routed and driven from the field. That night he received congratulations from the ' Rough and Ready ' old soldier, who never wasted words in unnecessary praise. Thus within a few short weeks after the farmer was engaged in peaceful pursuits on the banks of the Ohio, he had ' set a squadron ' in the field, and developed the able general, successfully commanding a division of the army in one of the hardest fought and bloodiest battles of the war.

" In June, 1847, he returned to New Orleans, where the Indiana regiments were disbanded. Returning to General Taylor's line he was ordered to join General Scott. Landing at Vera Cruz September 16th, he took up the line of march for the city of Mexico, in command of 3,000 troops. On October 9th he defeated Santa Anna at Huamantla; on the 19th he attacked a strong force of guerrillas at Alixo, and took the place. On the 20th he dispersed another guerrilla force at Tlascala. On November 22d he took Metamoras, which was strongly fortified, capturing a large amount of ammunition and military stores; and on December 14th reached General Scott's headquarters in the City of Mexico, and was highly complimented by the hero of Chippewa and Lundy's

Lane. The brilliant exploits of General Lane and his brigade of 3,000 on this memorable march from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico have but few parallels in the annals of modern warfare. Their line of march was over the same general route pursued by Cortez in his conquest three hundred and twenty-eight years before. . . . To successfully conduct an aggressive campaign with a mere handful of troops in the heart of an enemy's country gives evidence of a high order of military talent possessed by the commander, who had but a few months' experience in the art of war. . . .

“ From the brief mention I have made of General Lane's career in Mexico, it must be conceded that he exhibited soldierly qualities of no ordinary character. By the secrecy and celerity of his marches, the quick, hard, and unexpected blow, together with his plain and unassuming demeanor, he gained the *soubriquet* of ‘ The Marion of the Mexican War ’; and all adventurous enterprising soldiers, who sought distinction by hard service, desired to serve in ‘ Lane's Brigade.’ He had great natural talent for the military profession, which with wider and broader opportunities would have developed the most brilliant of soldierly qualities. No officer of his rank, who served in that war, rendered so important services to his country, or gained greater fame by his courage and intrepidity, than Lane.”

General John Adair, the first collector of customs, was a native of Kentucky, and belonged to one of

the old pioneer families that came across the Cumberland Mountains from South Carolina. His father was a man of much distinction in the annals of Kentucky, being Governor in 1818, and was a member of Congress in both the Senate and House. The son, however, although thus brought up in the midst of Southern life and deeply imbued with Southern ideas, grew tired of slavery and determined to seek a free State; emancipating his slaves and taking them with him to Indiana. He was appointed collector of customs of the district of Oregon by President Polk, and with his family set out for his new location December 18th, by the steamer "Falcon," sailing from New Orleans. The "Falcon" was the first of the since great and wealthy Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamers by way of the Panama route. News of the discovery of gold in California was just received, and at New Orleans the vessel was crowded with passengers seeking the new, and, as it proved, the true Eldorado of North America. The dangers of this first trip through the tropics were greatly enhanced by an outbreak of the dreaded pestilence of cholera, by which many were laid down forever by the roadside of the isthmus or left in the waves. A child of the Adair family was attacked and barely nursed through on the journey. It was an eventful journey, and the voyage from the isthmus to San Francisco, on the old "California," has thus been summarized: "This pioneer steamship reached San Francisco February 28, 1849, having been twenty-nine days

from Panama, out of fuel twice, on fire twice, and little to eat any part of the time for the immense load of passengers.”

Arriving at San Francisco all was found to be excitement, and General Adair was earnestly advised to report that there was much greater need of a custom house at San Francisco than at Astoria, and to remain awaiting further instructions; but feeling that it was clearly his duty to proceed to his destination, he took the first vessel offering passage, which was the brig “Valadora,” in command of Captain Nathaniel Crosby. After a voyage of twenty-eight days, during twenty-four of which the passengers took turns at the pumps, along with the crew, as it was found that the vessel had sprung aleak, the Columbia was entered. “With so great labors” was Oregon established.

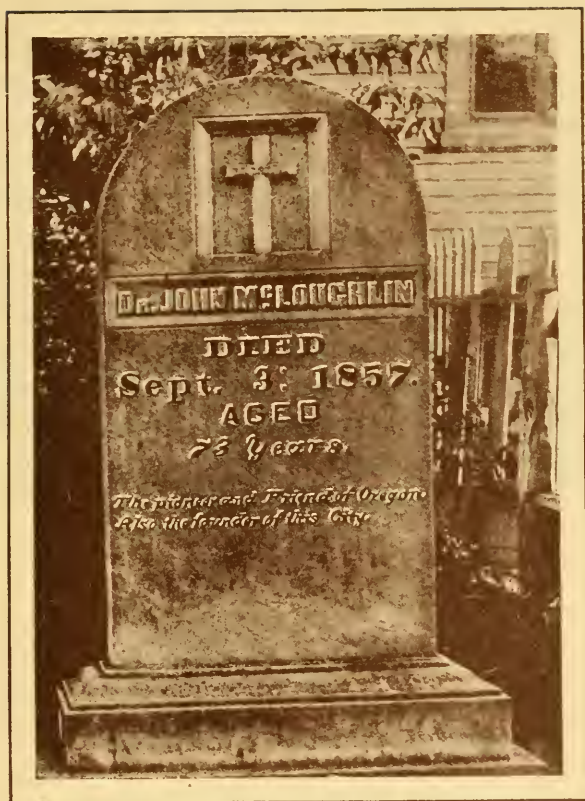
The government was made complete by providing a territorial court; William P. Bryant being chief justice, and O. C. Pratt and Peter H. Burnett associate justices. Bryant and Pratt arrived in the same year, 1849, but the place of Burnett was found vacant, as he had already gone to California almost upon the first news of the discovery of gold, and resigned his place. In order to fill this William Strong was afterward appointed, arriving with Governor Gaines.

The immediate and pressing work before the new Territorial Government was the apprehension and punishment of the Cayuse Indian murderers of Dr. Whitman. These outlaws were captured in the John

Day country by some of the Nez Perces and delivered for trial to the Oregon authorities. "Information being received by Governor Lane, May 2d, that the Cayuse murderers had been apprehended and were awaiting his arrival at The Dalles, he went up and brought them down."* They were given all the advantages of a trial by jury, and were allowed their own counsel, among whom was K. Pritchett. The case was brought under O. C. Pratt, associate judge, beginning May 21. The first move of the defense was that at the time of the massacre Oregon was not under the Territorial Government, and hence there was no jurisdiction. This was very properly overruled by the judge. The next was a petition for change of venue to Clark County [Vancouver], on the ground of prejudice at Oregon City; but this was also overruled.

The case was continued on the 23d. Witnesses examined were Mrs. Eliza Hall, Miss Elizabeth Sager, Mrs. Lorinda [Bewley] Chapman; Josiah Osborn, Dr. John McLoughlin, 'Sticcus [Isticcus], and Rev. H. H. Spalding. On the 24th the evidence was summed up and the charge given the jury; who, after an hour and fifteen minutes, returned the verdict of guilty as charged. The counsel moved the court an arrest of judgment, and also for a new trial; but both were overruled, and the murderers sentenced to be hanged June 3d. These were Telokaikt, Tamahas, Isiaasheluckus, Clockamas, and Kiamasumkin; and

*Court Register.



GRAVE OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN, AT OREGON CITY

before their execution they made full confession of their guilt, except that the latter admitted only that he was present, but took no part in the massacre. The sentence was signed by General Lane and delivered to Marshal Meek for execution. This took place at Oregon City, as ordered, though Mr. Pritchett, as Secretary of the Territory, had now, by the resignation of Lane as Governor, become acting Governor, and requested, or even directed, Meek to suspend the sentence; but this Meek refused to do. There was an immense assemblage to witness this, the closing scene of the Cayuse War, and many of the men brought rifles, which were conveniently placed, as it was reported there would be an attempt to rescue the prisoners, but there was no disturbance.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF GOLD

THE connection between the political development of California and of Oregon, and their mutual industrial dependence have been so constantly obscured by local rivalries, and by the hasty impressions of uninformed persons, who may also have had some personal interest to serve, that the really broad relations of reciprocal benefit merit special mention.

Upper California, as originally known, in order to note the distinction between the continental region and the peninsula, embracing an immense territory west of the Sierra Nevada range of mountains, and a climate of perpetual summer, was early sought as a sort of Ultima Thule, both as the geographical limit of land travel, and as the end of desire as an earthly paradise. The name by which it is now known was first used by an officer in the army of Cortez, and carried even then the magic of the names of Mexico and Peru. There must have been a certain psychological premonition that under the hidden bases of the California hills lay the gold of El Dorado. But the Spaniards, only dreaming of this, had not the wit to uncover the treasure. After the discovery of the Gulf of California, or the Vermillion Sea, as often known, and the belief in regard to the Straits of Anian had been encouraged by the explorations of Aguilar, and the myths of Juan de Fuca and Maldonado had been received as possibly true, California was regarded as a great island, and so shown on the

maps of the day, under the name of the Isle of Carolina, after the emperor. But as this impression was effaced by more perfect examinations both the island and the name disappeared. The older term California, however it arose, or whatever may have been the secret of its now enigmatical significance, was resumed.

Under the labors of the Franciscan Fathers the coast regions and sections of Santa Clara Valley were colonized, the natives were converted to the Catholic faith and taught the arts of agriculture, and especially of viticulture; California, amid its vast brown expanses of rustling wild grains, became dotted at the most desirable localities with the white glistening walls of adobe-built houses and chapels, and the sound of church bells was heard along with the homely noises of the numerous flocks and herds of domestic animals. Something like twenty-three thousand of the Spanish and converted natives were estimated when California came into the Union. Of these much the larger part, some eighteen thousand, were converted Indians. Of the wild Indians it was thought that there might have been not less than one hundred thousand. In 1822, when Mexico was separated from Spain, California fell to the Mexicans; but the relations were not cordial. Successive dictators arose at the capital, and each became more necessitous of funds than his predecessor, and California almost immediately became to Mexico what Mexico had been to Spain—a place where ambitious



DONALD McKAY

A celebrated scout and Indian fighter.

From a photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.

captains might seek the means to replenish their treasury. The Franciscan Fathers became an easy prey for Mexican chiefs, and the broad lands which they claimed were apportioned out as rancheros for the favorites of whichever dictator happened to be in power. Hence originated the system of ranches and old Mexican grants, with ill-defined and vague overlapping boundaries, which have been the plague of the land owner, and the bonanza of the litigant attorney, ever since Americans arrived.

Not a few of these grants were made to Americans; and as early as 1830 it is said that there were 500 foreigners, many of whom were Americans, west of the Sierras. Monterey and San Francisco Bay were favorite resorts for trading ships in the Pacific, for supplies and repairs, and trade in furs and hides; and these became convenient points for desertion of weary seamen, and no small proportion of the primitive settlers of California as well as of Oregon reached their destination by the Monterey route. That the political relations of California were unsettled for some time before it was actually occupied by the American forces, is well known. As will be remembered in connection with the treaty negotiated by Ashburton and Webster settling the Northeast boundary question, in 1842, it was proposed by Webster, in private consultation, to secure California as far down as, and including, San Francisco Bay. To satisfy England the Oregon question was to be settled by a boundary following the middle of the Co-

lumbia River to the sea. Texas was to be admitted to the Union. As is also well known there was a premature, and somewhat ridiculous, attempt made by Commodore Jones of the United States Navy to take possession of all California. He captured the Mexican fort at Monterey and raised the Stars and Stripes, and declared the country annexed to the United States; but, whether from receiving some further information just at that time, or from reperusal of his instructions, he withdrew his force and disowned the act the next day. According to an English authority, all that was contemplated in this act will probably never be known. The same authority immediately adds, "and, as universally believed in that State [the United States], the French and English were also looking in that direction to a future possible taking possession of the country [California]." Jones's act was probably with no intention to seize California from Mexico, but to establish a claim that would take precedence of any contemplated movement of England, or of England and France combined; who already held bonds secured on California lands, and made strong objections to the annexation of Texas to the United States, preferring rather that it be independent under joint protection of the two European powers.

American settlement of California, however, continued, '42, '43, '44, '45, '46 and '47 seeing an ever-increasing number of Missouri wagons turn off at Fort Hall for the Sacramento. Captain Grant of the

Hudson's Bay Company is credited with persuading no small number that California was a much better country for settlement than was Oregon. If so, he only helped to extend American possession on the Pacific Coast; not essentially weakening the army of occupation which came into the valley of the Columbia, and greatly strengthening that which went into that of the Sacramento. Among those who occupied lands and became California Americans were Captain Sutter, a Switzer by birth, but American by sympathies; Bidwell, who arrived as a youth in 1842, and afterward became a governor; Boggs, of 1846, who intended making Oregon his home, but taking the southern Oregon route, found himself nearer Sacramento than the Willamette, and continued southward; Lassen, for whom Lassen's Butte was named; and many others. Marshall, the discoverer of gold, was an Oregon immigrant of 1844, who went later to California. The Americans were already beginning to make homes and project enterprise, and it was only a question of time when they would begin to feel that their enterprises must be secured by a government of their own. But the crisis with Mexico, over the annexation of Texas, affected California before the natural outgrowing of the Mexican authority could come to a definite purpose. California therefore from the first proceeded by the process of cataclysms, induced by exterior causes, rather than growth of inherent principles.

When the year 1846 arrived, bringing the crisis

with Mexico, J. C. Fremont, who was in California anticipating the event, received verbal instructions by an officer sent by way of Vera Cruz and Mazatlan, that he should secure California.* Proceeding at once to Sutter's fort, and Sonoma, he called for volunteers and organizing a force, took military possession of the country early in July, and advised the settlers to declare their independence. Commodore Stockton also arrived at Monterey the 2d of the same month, and on the 7th, took formal possession—after Sloat—of all California. But little, and that ineffective, opposition was made, and by the time that Kearny arrived from Leavenworth, the next year the country was entirely pacified. The question whether Fremont exceeded orders, and the justice of the trial that was instituted against him, have ceased to be one of practical importance. Yet this exhibits the fact that Americans are inclined to inspect very closely the acts of those who use the national authority in an unusual or *extra* constitutional manner. In any annexation of inhabited territory the question will arise whether it was done by the consent or wishes of the inhabitants. It will be noticed in this case that the Americans who rallied to the standard of Fremont were actual residents, and that the Americans constituted about half the white population. The capture of Monterey was a military act against the

* Fremont was then on the way to Oregon, and it was stated in his instructions that California was about to be transferred to England—the true peril in the business.

territory of an enemy of the United States. The final cession of California to the United States was for a valuable consideration, and probably represented the wishes of a great majority of the civilized people of California.

It will also be seen that the most of the supporters of Fremont were either immigrants who had started West as Oregon immigrants, or having come to Oregon, had afterward gone to California. At this initial crisis, therefore, the men of Oregon were on hand, and gave a support to the national interest without which the reasons for annexation would have been far less clear; and perhaps untenable upon American principles. One of these, possession by use, was relied upon to settle the Oregon question; and the other, government by the consent of the governed, had been relied upon to justify American independence, and had been the basis of the Provisional Government in Oregon. It will not be claimed here that the acquisition of California is due to the efforts of Oregon, as the stream of American occupation to the Pacific was no doubt strong enough to reach the Sacramento and San Francisco Bay by some other route; but it certainly was true that at the critical time the influences that had been developing an American community in isolated Oregon, extended from the same movement into California, and caused the stream of American occupation to course actually from the Oregon trail, or even further around by the valley of the Willamette; and this occupation pro-

ceeded as an orderly and almost imperceptible movement from the older community established on the Columbia and its waters.

The treaty of peace had not yet been signed, however, before the prying eyes of an American saw the signs of the gold that had been the despair of Cortez. It was not in any fane of the Montezumas or treasury of the Incas, but in the mill tail of Sutter's race on the American* River. The story is well known. James W. Marshall, whom State pride impels us to call an Oregonian, after turning off the water in the race, where he and others had been installing a saw-mill plant on the American River for Captain Sutter, observed in the sediment washed down some small sparkling objects among the gravels. Conjecturing that they might be gold he gathered a number, and after conferring with workmen, the wife of one of whom was from the gold fields of Georgia, sent the samples for assay to Yerba Buena, or San Francisco. Upon confirmation of their surmise, it was found impossible to keep the golden secret, and the news began spreading, and increasing in magnitude as it went, to all parts of the United States and of the world. The most wonderful thing, from the economic point of view, is how the later discoveries bore out the reports, which had little to confirm them. It was known, indeed, that gold was to be found on one branch of the Sacramento; but it was only an inference that all the Sierras of California were gold-

* A significant name in this connection.

bearing; yet the inference was believed, and never since the days of Cortez was the world so moved. The economic need had appeared again. A great problem of the United States, since its separation from England, had been how to maintain an equable and stable money medium. This matter had divided parties, and had given rise to efforts at a national bank currency, and in default of that, of State bank currencies, of such an unstable character as to merit the term "wildcat." Whether or not a gold money is the ultimate or stable standard and basis of a monetary system, it seems to be the most suitable and preferred money metal of advancing industrial civilization. The opening of the California hills therefore made possible the accumulation of capital and the calculation of enterprises far beyond all that the world had ever before seen. To America, the land to which had been entrusted the doctrine of the rights of man, went first the immense accession of industrial power.

Oregon had an important part in determining under what system of labor, American or Mexican, and if American, whether free or slave, this new industrial chapter in the world's history should be unfolded. Were the atrocities of the Spanish in Hispaniola, or their ravages and greedy conquests, and slaughters, in Mexico and Peru to be repeated? Were peons, and slaves, or freemen, to take the strength of the hills? If the discovery of gold was only to open anew the gates of conquest and war,

the humanitarian would question whether it were not indeed the golden curse rather than the magician's charm. It was the Oregon men, as the course of events clearly indicates, who largely determined the final settlement of these questions. They decided that the gold of the Sierras should be consecrated to the giants of industry rather than to the old gods of war, and that with the discovery of the long desired Eldorado the military age of the New World, at least, should close—although on grating hinges, and the industrial age should definitely open.

The Oregon people, as the summer of 1848 began to advance, although harassed by the Cayuse War, were still anticipating its speedy termination, and were looking for a rapid and hopeful development of their own community. They had few thoughts of wealth, but hoped to make comfortable homes, raise their children well, give them an education, and start them in a rich agricultural country where the fruit trees and the herds would grow with their advancing growth. About midsummer, however, an enterprising schooner, the "Honolulu," entered the Columbia, and pushed its way to Oregon City. Here the captain, Newell, began buying picks and shovels until no more were to be had; then coolly informed the curious people of the gold in California. His reports were at first discredited. But about a month later, in August, arrived another vessel, the old brig "Henry," bearing the same intelligence; giving minute descriptions of Marshall's discovery, and,



UMA-PINE,

A Cayuse Indian who captured Chief Egan, the Snake Warrior, during the Indian war of 1877.

From a copyrighted photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.

as some say, having some specimens of the metal. These tales were confirmed by statements of well-known Oregonians, Charles Bennett and Stephen Staats, who had gone to California in 1847.

The effect was electrical. Almost every single man, and many who had families and farms, decided to go to the mines—so as to reach the ground before the rush from the other parts of the United States should come. Among the first to organize a company was Thomas McKay, in whose party was young Louis Labonte. The route was by the old Hudson's Bay trail, west of Mount Shasta, or Shasta Butte, as designated in the early days. Another company was organized by Peter Burnett, with many others, who determined to cut a road and carry provisions, and chose the route opened by Jesse Applegate, through the Klamath Basin, by Pitt River and the Sacramento. Other companies under Weston, Tharp and Case were also organized, following Burnett's trace. On the Columbia River almost every available man was drawn into the exodus. The schooner "Wave" was built for a company among whom was Clement A. Bradbury, by Fred. Ketchum, a master shipbuilder from Nova Scotia, and with a full load of men and provisions sailed out of the Columbia in September. The old longboat of the "Peacock," which had been left with McLoughlin and returned to Howison as a sort of pilot boat, but was afterward sold, was obtained by another party, cut in two, and a new middle part, or 'midships, inserted, and with

this frail craft the adventurers put out from the Columbia, and arrived safely at the Golden Gate. By some of the residents of Clatsop Plains, among whom was Thomas Owens, a schooner was begun at Skipanon, but completed by Robert McEwan, who had been a master shipbuilder in New Brunswick; and put to sea late in the season. Among those going from Clatsop Plains were Ben. Wood, a single man, well educated and highly esteemed, who, however, became a victim of an Indian massacre in the mines; his partner, Ninian Eberman, and Tom. Hill, and three young men of the name of Greenwood, sons of an old Rocky Mountain trapper and guide, were also among these Columbia River men.

A witty poem, evidently written as a parody after reading Holmes's "Dream of the Comet," was published in the *Oregon Spectator*, November 10, 1848; and gives so true a picture of local excitement, with sly hits at various persons, but without malice, that it has been well printed in Brown's History as the best description available of the effect of the news of gold. It is inserted here for the same reason. The truth rather than the poetry of the composition is noticed by Brown.

Come thither Muse, and tell the news,
Nor be thou a deceiver;
But sing in plain poetic strain
The present "yellow fever."

Not long ago I laid me down
To rest in quiet slumbers;

And whilst I slept I dreamed a dream
And coined it into numbers.

I thought I saw on every hand
A mighty congregation;—
A heterogeneous mass of men
From every tribe and nation.

And each pursued with keen delight
Some honest occupation;
Whilst rosy health, the laborer's wealth,
Filled every situation.

And then I looked, and lo I saw
A herald bright advancing;
A being from some other clime
On golden pinions dancing.

And as he neared the mighty crowd
He made this proclamation
In tones so clear, distinct and loud
It startled half the nation.

"Why do you labor here," he cried,
"For merely life and pleasure,
While just beyond that mountain gray
Lies wealth beyond all measure?"

"The road is plain, the way is smooth,
'Tis neither rough nor thorny;
Come, leave this rugged vale and go
With me to Californi'!"

"There wealth untold is bought and sold,
And each may be partaker;
Where fifty tons of finest gold
Are dug from every acre!"

At sound of gold both young and old
Forsook their occupation;
And wild confusion seemed to rule
In every situation.

An old cordwainer heard the news,
And though not much elated,
He left his pile of boots and shoes,
And just evaporated.

The cooper left his tubs and pails,
His buckets and his piggins;
The sailor left his yards and sails,
And started for the "diggin's."

The farmer left his plough and steers,
The merchant left his measure;
The tailor dropped his goose and shears,
And went to gather treasure.

A pedagogue, attired incog.,
Gave ear to what was stated,
Forsook his stool, bestrode a mule,
And then absquatulated.

A boatman, too, forsook his crew,
Let fall his oar and paddle,
And stole his neighbor's iron gray,
But went without a saddle.

The joiner dropped his square and jack,
The carpenter his chisel;
The pedlar laid aside his pack,
And all prepared to mizzle.

The woodman dropped his trusty ax,
The tanner left his leather,
The miller left his pile of sacks,
And all went off together.

The doctor cocked his eye askance
The promised wealth desecring,
And wheeled his horse and off he pranced
And left his patients dying.

The preacher dropped the Holy Book,
And grasped the mad illusion;

The herdsman left his flock and crook
Amid the wild confusion.

The judge consigned to cold neglect
The great judicial ermine,
But just which way his Honor went
I could not well determine.

And then I saw, far in the rear,
A fat, purse-proud attorney;
Collect his last retaining fee
And start upon his journey.

And when each brain in that vast train
Was perfectly inverted,
My slumbers broke, and I awoke,
And found the place deserted.

Yamhill, Nov. 10, 1848.

O. P. Q.

Soon after the Columbia River men reached the mines a situation arose that required all the courage and judgment of all the best men to control. This came primarily from the political situation at Washington. It seemed a natural assumption there that California, being mostly south of the latitude of Mason and Dixon's line would become slave territory. This possibly led to the rapid acquisition of the territory; yet, on the other hand it is not improbable that Polk's administration, which was strongly tinctured with Squatter Sovereignty ideas, and Fremont, son-in-law of Benton, and himself strongly leaning toward free territory ideas, had a prevision that this would not be the result. The Southern members were again confronted, as California was acquired, with the same question that had so dis-

turbed them in providing a government for Oregon. They already feared to trust the question of free or slave territory to the people of California themselves, and the moment it was opened in Congress there arose another contest much more furious than had attended the same matter over the Oregon bill. Agreement was impossible, the Southern Democrats now being willing to divide the party if they were forced to submission as they had been in the case of Oregon, and the Northern Democrats being unwilling to accept such an issue in their own ranks. Consequently California was left without a government, positively no action being taken by the sessions of 1847 and 1848, and by that of 1849 only to the point of extending the revenue laws over the country and establishing a custom house at San Francisco. General Riley was military governor, with very vague powers, and was followed by General Persifer Smith, who arrived early in 1849. The various towns were still under the remnants of the Mexican authorities, with alcaldes selected in some cases by the people, and Captain Sutter was presumed to exercise something of the civil functions in the Sacramento valley that he had been given previously to the American acquisition. But such local authorities were all entirely incompetent to determine or enforce order of any kind in the mining camps. These at once came under miners' law.

It is universally agreed that no better or fairer body of men than the first miners were ever found



A GLIMPSE OF BAKER CITY, OREGON, AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY

in any country. The rules laid down fixing the size and boundaries of claims and all other public matters were adjusted justly in the different camps and gulches, and any infraction of the rules was met at once with notice to quit and leave the country to honest men. But it soon became apparent, especially on the American River, where there was the greatest body of miners, that there were three interests, or parties. The first consisted of the older residents of the country, mostly Americans or Germans, but who had lived in the region long enough to be called Californians. The second party consisted of the first arrivals at the mines, who came from Oregon in the latter part of 1848, or early in 1849. These were called the Columbia River men. The third body consisted of the next arrivals, those who came from the East in the summer and autumn of 1849, and largely by sea or by way of Panama. The interests and ideas of these three classes were quite different. The first, or the Californians, had the feeling that the discoveries of gold were largely their own, and that the manner of its working should follow their old conditions. They were largely traders with the Mexicans and Indians, and their natural method of making profit was by a continuance of their trade. They at once therefore began to induce the Indians to wash for gold, and to sell to them, at fabulous prices, the goods dear to the natives—blankets, shirts, bandanas, and trinkets. The Indians were quite willing

to part with their gold at prices that were making instant fortunes for the traders.

The Columbia River men, on the contrary, were laboring men, expecting to dig their gold, and naturally opposed to any sort of competition from an inferior form of labor. Perfectly willing to respect each other's rights, they paid little attention to the claims of the natives, and undoubtedly in many cases came in conflict with their washings. Some of them saw quickly that profits were to be made in trade, and began competition with the Californians, cutting prices to half, then a quarter, and even lower, as rivalry increased. Bad feeling with the Indians in the mines, and unfriendly rivalries in the camps, soon led to strong partisan division between the Columbia River men and the Californians. In the absence of all but miners' law, but one result could follow. Killing of miners in the camps by Indians began to be reported. It soon began to be known that these were Columbia River men. Whether in any cases these murders were provoked by the miners may never be known. One of the most atrocious of the massacres was that of Ben. Wood, and all his companions, excepting Eberman, who had gone secretly to Coloma for supplies. Wood was known as a friend of the Indians and it could not be believed that he had incited any hostilities. The position of the miners was peculiarly exposed. They penetrated the gulches, going usually in small squads, and often making rich strikes, purposely concealed their claims,

so that inquiring friends might not become too neighborly. In these lonely places they might be murdered without even their closest friends learning their fate. As many as thirty murders were reported before action was taken. Then the Columbia River men organized secretly, believing that such authorities as there were in the State rather sympathized with the Indians, and that the California traders profited by the robbery by Indians of the miners in their camps. After the massacre of Wood the Indians were attacked, the men said by the women to have committed the deed were at length captured and after a trial before the miners were sentenced to execution at Coloma—a sentence which was not carried into effect only because the convicted Indians attempted to escape, and were shot. By this, however, intense excitement was caused, and the traders freely expressed abhorrence of the Columbia River men.

This was probably the beginning of the reign of vigilance committees, and occurred early in the season of 1849. Great fear was excited that there would be a general Indian uprising; and the Eastern men, now arriving, were in many cases persuaded to turn back and leave the mines. But upon closer examination the opinion was expressed by them that if it came to a struggle with the natives, the Columbia River men, who had ranged across the Rocky Mountains and knew all the details of Indian warfare, and were expert shots with the rifle, were the ones to side with.

Collision with another form of competition, also, was soon reached. Americans who were familiar with conditions in Mexico conceived the plan of employing a grade of low and cheap labor and bringing this into the mines. The Mexican prisons were filled with debtors, who were allowed to be farmed out to these speculators, and it was estimated that they might be employed in digging gold at a cost of about 18 cents per day, besides expenses of feed and oversight. These bands of convicts began to arrive in the summer of the year. Peons from Peru and Chile were also said to be on the way hither under other enterprising masters. This was a form of competition and occupation that the gold diggers saw could not be allowed. One of the first efforts to restrain them was made by the Oregon miners, the same who had punished the Indians, and their resolution was that only American citizens would be recognized as holding claims in the mines. Their action* was published and almost immediately adopted in all the camps. The companies of debtor convicts and peons were therefore obliged to post about.

As will be seen these were laboring men's ideas of justice. The miners were willing to work, and to accord their rights to others, but would not allow an impossible competition. They would not compete with Indians or convicts, or peons, not so much because they despised these classes of men; on the con-

* This is said to have been first proclaimed by Governor Smith, but had no support until indorsed by the miners.

trary, they worked side by side with them when these worked as freemen, and a considerable number of the Columbia River men that enforced their rules in the mines were of part native blood; but to compete with a slave system was a simple impossibility. The free-man could never compete with a master. His conclusion, therefore, was, as he determined to be free, neither master nor slave should exist. In the necessity of the case he must either kill or banish, or free the slave. The working man in his individual capacity can only do the first—kill the slave. Under non-legal association, he will banish the slave. Under legal association, or collective capacity as a government, he will release the slave and make him also a freeman. In California this was done. The Indians, practically serf labor, were killed; the debtors were banished; and before the close of the year, by general convention of the whole people, slavery was prohibited.

The wiser men of the young commonwealth soon saw that a continuation of the conditions of the first year could not be allowed. Anarchy and bloodshed on a frightful scale would arise in the entire territory. When it became known that the United States would not provide a government in 1849, it was proposed to hold a convention, formulate a constitution, establish law, and apply for admission as a State.* One of the

* The part taken by one Oregonian, which is an illustration of that taken by many, is shown in the following from the biographical sketch of Medare G. Foisy, by W. H. Rees:

leaders in this programme was Peter H. Burnett. As stated by himself he had made a study of the Provisional Government of Oregon, whose acts had been recognized as legal by the United States. He believed that the precedent could be safely followed in California, and that in default of a territorial government it would be recognized as a government in fact, and before the American people stand in as good a light as that of Oregon or Texas. The convention assembled in the autumn. The constitution was drawn and adopted, and upon popular vote was approved, and formal application as a State already organized and with sufficient population to take its place with the other States, was made to the United States Congress.

The expectation of the promoters was justified. California was admitted as a State in 1850, and that although its constitution, like Oregon's, prohibited

"After the close of the first annual session of the legislature under the new Oregon Republic (for such it was) Mr. Foisy expressed to the writer his determination to return to St. Louis to remain two years. . . . So in the spring of 1846, with the expectation of going by way of Nicaragua, he joined a party going overland to California, which he found to be a dangerous road to travel on account of hostile Indians, from Rogue River to the head of Sacramento valley. The party had one man killed and several wounded. On reaching California his homeward journey was for the time abandoned, for here he met the northwestern limits of the Mexican war, in which he took an active part in the Sacramento valley and the country in the vicinity of the Bay. He accompanied a troop sent by Fremont to open communication with Monterey, where Commodore Sloat had previously hoisted the American flag. But I have not space at my command to follow him through these eventful years of his life; let it suffice to say that as a soldier, interpreter with the



A GLIMPSE OF PENDLETON, OREGON, AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY

slavery. This, more than any other act, arrested the territorial growth of the Southern system of labor. Although it was provided that that system might be introduced into Utah and New Mexico, this was an ineffective concession. That these great results were due, in no small measure, to Oregon men, and to ideas worked out already in Oregon, can scarcely be questioned. The Oregon constitution in its essential features reappeared in California, and that Oregon men's votes placed it there was also evidenced by the election of an Oregon pioneer, Peter H. Burnett, as first governor.

land and marine forces operating on the southern coast of California, or in discharge of his duties as Alcalde of Monterey and his labors on the first English paper published at that place, these duties were discharged with honor to himself and fidelity to those whom he served.

“ . . . Mr. Foisy remained in Monterey most of the time until after the election of delegates to form a State Constitution, to be presented to Congress asking admission to the Union. He made a gallant fight for freedom and humanity in that election, which under the circumstances does great honor to his memory. This was the bold, unflinching stand which he took, as he had before taken in the Oregon Legislature, against the spread of an institution designed to force a race of men and women down to a level with the beasts of the field.”

On account of these events in California Mr. Foisy did not return East, but came back to Oregon, marrying and becoming a permanent resident of French Prairie. He, like Le Breton and Matthieu, was reared in the Catholic faith, but inclined toward liberality in doctrine.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS IN OREGON

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IT has been estimated that between five and ten thousand Oregonians went to the California gold mines. The former figure, at least covering the period prior to 1850, is probably nearer correct. In the election held June 12, 1848, when the question of prohibition of the Liquor Traffic was submitted, 1,393 votes were cast; Clatsop showing 107; Polk, 98; Linn, 107; Tualatin, 214; Yamhill, 188; Clackamas, 251; Vancouver, 49; and Champois, 369. What is now Multnomah, west of the Willamette, was then included in Tualatin, or Washington, as afterward named. The total vote for governor in 1847 was 1,074. When it is remembered that the vote of 1847 was taken before the arrival of the large immigration of that year, and that that of 1848 was taken when quite a large number of voters were still in the field against the Cayuses, it will be seen that the Oregon population was more than would be indicated by the election returns. It should also be noticed that an unusually large proportion of the Oregon men were youths from sixteen to twenty-one—the conditions of Western life favoring an early assumption of adult responsibilities. It is not improbable, therefore, that somewhere near five thousand men and youths capable of men's work went to the gold fields from Oregon before the close of the year 1849.

No small proportion remained in the Golden State and became its first citizens. But probably the larger number still considered themselves Oregonians, and remembered their homes in the Willamette or along

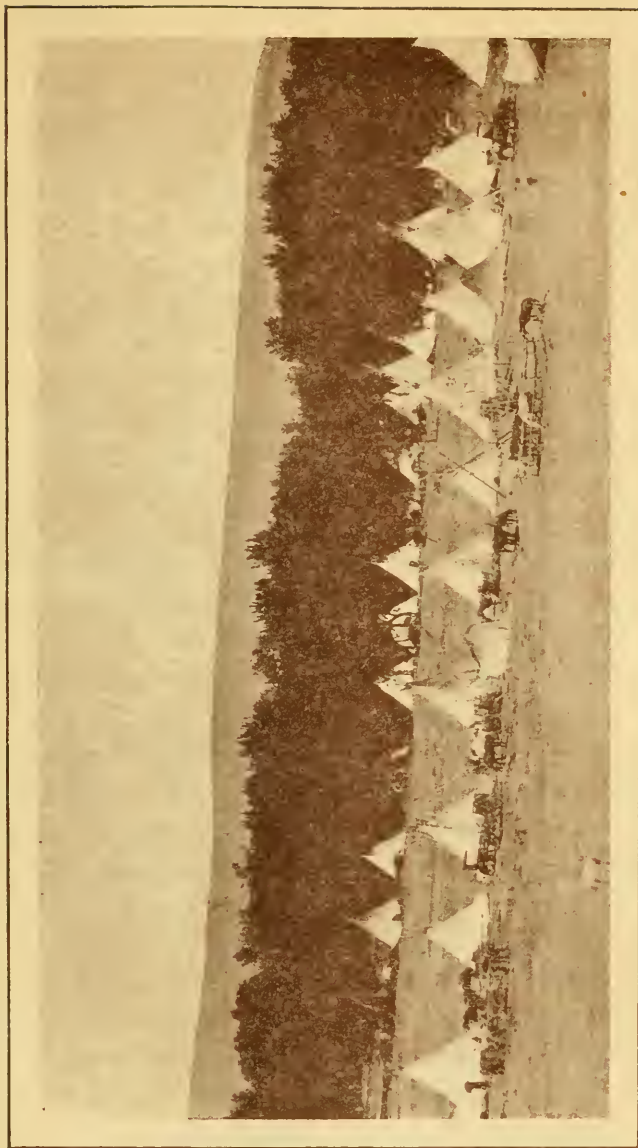
the Columbia. Many had already become well established here, and had left their families for but a temporary absence. As a place for a permanent home they preferred Oregon. This was partly on account of climatic conditions, a land with the regular changes of seasons and abundance of moisture suiting better their customary mode of life; but still more on account of the land system, and the social and educational conditions. In California the land system and titles were in a state of chaos. The valleys were held in immense rancherios, of an area almost equal to an old-fashioned county. These were falling into the hands of speculators, who took their chances; but the farmer desiring a home could not afford to take chances. In Oregon each family had secure, under the best title in the world, a square mile of land; usually embracing both prairie and woodland, and often both lowlands for grain and pasture, and points of upland well suited for building sites and orchard slopes, while the surrounding hills, partly wooded, still afforded range for the multiplying flocks and herds. These were conditions suited to the northern, or western farmer, and afforded greater satisfaction than the herdsman's life of the California valleys. But in Oregon much pains had been taken to build up an orderly and enlightened society. In the centers, such as Oregon City, Salem, and Vancouver, the graces and refinements of life were sedulously cultivated. The files of the *Oregon Spectator* show, amid the natural differences of opinion, the ideas of re-

fined and thinking people; and schools and educational institutions were promoted even beyond present needs. The conditions in the California mines and towns—where soon adventurers, gamblers, and every species of vagabond pressed quickly in upon the heels of the Argonauts—seemed intolerable to even rough-and-ready, and unlettered, but still law-abiding Oregonians.

It was soon apparent, too, that after the first strikes were made, the profits of the gold-digger, allowing for exorbitant prices for living and transportation, would not be great. One, like Judge Hudson, of Oregon City, might dig out twenty-one thousand dollars' worth of dust in a few weeks; or another, like Bradbury, of the Lower Columbia, might bring out a nugget weighing over six hundred dollars' value, and commanding over a thousand dollars price, at one stroke of the pick. But taking into account all the hardships and the chances of disease, death, and demands to support vigilance committees against the lawless element, the conditions were not desirable for men who had homes and farms of their own. Great numbers, therefore, and usually with double-thick buckskin pouches well filled with dust hung around their waists under their belts, well girded also with several braces of pistols, returned as winter came on, and began at once to put into effect the improvements they had planned for home while they were washing dust in the California gulches. With the toils and perils by the way, both going and returning, we can-

not linger here; but the Argonauts had all the adventures of Jason and Ulysses, and met in California all types of man, under the most favorable conditions for study of human nature. This was the great second education of the Oregon people. The California mining camp was like a metropolis. It was there that the cosmopolitan ideas and manners of the Oregonian, and even more of the Californian, originated.

San Francisco, rapidly springing up on the site of the old Yerba Buena, became the market for Oregon. It was on their farms and in their own mills, as was soon seen, that the best results of the gold mines would be obtained. One of the first results of bringing gold dust in large quantities into the State was coining money. This was done to facilitate exchange, and because in regular trade it was seen that the miners' crude way of selling by weight by a pair of scales was objectionable. The dust was not all alike clean; the trader often gave less than the holder considered his particular dust was worth, though sixteen dollars an ounce was the standard price. The Hudson's Bay Company's store at Oregon City, where the gold accumulated by the tubful, was said to receive twenty dollars an ounce, or more, at London. It was conceived by W. H. Rector, of Salem, that the Provisional Government, still in operation, should coin some of the gold. A company was formed, consisting of Theophilus Magruder, Wm. K. Kilburne, James Taylor, George Abernethy, Wm. H. Willson, Wm. H. Rector, John G. Campbell, and



UMATILLA RESERVATION, OREGON, ENCAMPMENT JULY 4, 1902

From a photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Paulton, Oregon.

Noyes Smith; and upon passage of an act commissioning them to coin money. a stamp mill was made, and dies were cut, and about 30,000 dollars' worth of five-dollar, and \$28,500 of ten-dollar pieces, were struck. Thomas Powell did the work of forging the irons for the mill, using largely old wagon tires; the work of engraving the dies was done by Hamilton Campbell. The initials of the company were included in the stamp; also O. T. for Oregon Territory, but accidentally reversed to T. O. on the five-dollar piece. Upon discontinuing the coinage—as the pieces being without alloy were over value and were soon bought in for the mint at San Francisco—the dies were ordered thrown into the river at Oregon City; but were subsequently found by Mr. D. P. Thompson in a rubbish heap in an old building, and given to the State, in whose archives they are still to be found. This was the first coinage of money on the Pacific Coast, and until the United States coins arrived, very much relieved trade. This is an interesting episode in the history of money and coinage, illustrating as in so many passages of early Oregon history, the process by which civilized man in general has arrived at a money medium. From furs to wheat, from wheat to general produce as valued at any well established trader's post or store; from paper on such securities to gold dust measured by private scales and agreement; from gold dust to coined native gold, measured by local public standard; and finally from native coined gold to alloyed gold according to the standard

of the nation, was the actual process followed in the economic history of Oregon. At each step a good reason in justice and economy was given, and was made the basis of action.

The trial and execution of the Cayuse Indian murderers has already been mentioned as one of the first acts of the new territorial government. In August of 1850, although having been governor only since March 3d of that year, Joseph Lane resigned his office. This was on account of national political considerations, as it was already apparent that the Democratic party could be kept from division over the slavery question only by the wisest counsels, and it was decided by the Southern section that a determined effort must be made to hold the Pacific Coast to their views of the situation. It was desired, therefore, that Lane accept the nomination as delegate, and be returned to Washington. To this he agreed, and was elected, having already become popular with all classes, and the future bearing of his election was not yet apparent. Such was his commanding influence and so well did he serve the Oregon community, that he was continuously re-elected until 1859, when Oregon was admitted as a State into the Union.

The political results of the Mexican War were not as anticipated by the Democratic party. The military hero is still the one most admired by the common people—at least until within very recent years. As it happened both the conspicuous generals in the Mexican War, Scott and Taylor, were Whigs. By

the nomination of the latter, who was a slaveholder and very popular with the people of the West, the fruits of the war were wrested to the Whigs. This, very probably, was the cause, as well as occasion of the resignation of Lane, who, as a Democrat, would not hold office under a Whig; while as a delegate from Oregon, responsible to no administration, he would not be subject to changes of administration. In casting about for a deserving man of their party to fill the place left vacant by Lane, the Whig counselors picked upon Abraham Lincoln—intending, certainly, to give Oregon as good as they had. But as America lost Cromwell, who once meditated coming hither, so Oregon did not gain Lincoln, who had the chance of growing up with the Pacific Coast. He declined humorously but positively; perhaps feeling already that he was to fulfill a national career. In default of Lincoln the position was tendered Major John P. Gaines, who had gained distinction in the Mexican War.

In place of Peter H. Burnett, who had resigned and gone to California, William Strong, already known to jurisprudence, was appointed associate justice of the Oregon Court. Of the three routes to their new field, across the plains, by the Isthmus, and around the Horn, the last was chosen by the governor and judge, and Edward Hamilton. As stated by Judge Strong, although the route by the Isthmus was shortest, much sickness was prevailing between Panama and Aspinwall, and families taking considerable

supplies could go more comfortably by the longer sea route. General E. Hamilton, who had been appointed territorial secretary, was also included in the company. Passage was found on a United States store ship, the "Supply," which was under orders to proceed to San Francisco with stores for the Pacific squadron; private arrangements being required for provisioning the corps of territorial officers and their families. Judge Strong speaks of a voyage of that length as "unspeakably tedious." The peril of the tropics, moreover, that of pestilence, was not avoided by the long sea route. At Rio Janeiro, where the vessel made a stoppage, yellow fever was taken aboard, and for a time so many of the officers and crew were sick that it seemed as if the ship could not be properly manned before reaching port. The fatalities were but four, but these were most distressing; as stated by the judge: "It proved fatal, however, in but four cases. Our eldest son, fourteen and a half years of age, was the first victim, and was buried at sea, in the Atlantic, whose waves washed the distant shores of his native land. A young seaman in whom we all took great interest next died; and Governor Gaines lost two daughters, interesting and accomplished young ladies, who had been the life of our party." These brief sentences indicate some of the sacrifices required of parents bringing their families to Oregon.

At San Francisco the "Supply" was exchanged for the sloop of war "Falmouth," of the United

States Navy, commanded by Pettigru. Port was made at Astoria, August 14, 1850; the voyage from New York consuming seven months and eleven days. A pleasing impression was made by the scene at the mouth of the river; and a sense of home is shown in the following (from Judge Strong's account):

“ It was a bright and beautiful morning when we entered the Columbia. The air was delightful, the scenery grand; the shores were covered with dense green foliage, the hills were crowned by magnificent evergreens. On our voyage up the coast of South America we had seen little except brown and hazy, sunburnt mountains—nothing green was visible. Around the bay of San Francisco, everything at that season of the year looked dry and barren. The hills having been recently burned over, consuming the crop of wild oats with which they had been luxuriantly covered, presented a black and desolate appearance. The great contrast which the shores of the Columbia presented, was cheering to the heart. The first impressions of our new home were delightful.”

At Astoria there was already established the United States Custom House, and the Barracks for the United States Engineers were occupied by Major J. S. Hathaway. Outside of the customs officials and the military there were about twenty-five men, mostly with families, living at this embryo city. Business was already increasing to meet the California demand. Judge Strong remarks in this connection: “ At the time of our arrival in the country there was

considerable commerce carried on, principally in sailing vessels between the Columbia River and San Francisco. The exports were chiefly lumber; the imports general merchandise." One of the well-known captains of this transportation was Hoyt, of the "Toulon." The lumber mills were situated chiefly along the lower Willamette and Columbia, as at Oregon City, Portland, Vancouver, Cathlamet Point, Baker's Bay, and on the Lewis and Clark River, and later at Astoria. These were not large mills, but made considerable output, that was in great demand at San Francisco, commanding several hundred dollars per thousand feet delivered. The demand for beef, butter, bacon and vegetables was also very great. Butter commanded a dollar, and sometimes two or more times that sum, per pound. This proved a bonanza to the farmers of Clatsop Plains, who were practical dairymen.

No one article was in such demand as fresh apples. The young orchards of grafted fruits from roots and scions brought by the pioneer orchardist Henderson Luelling, were beginning to bear, and some of the seedling trees from the old stock from Vancouver also produced fine red apples. To the miners, suffering from starvation for variety of food, and weary of the round of pork and beans and salt beef, an apple was as much to be desired as gold itself. The trader who managed to get a box of Oregon fruit to the camp often received a dollar, and sometimes five dollars for each one of his precious stock.

The effect was naturally to stimulate orchard planting to a great extent. Luelling at Milwaukee, Holden near Salem, Kinney in the West Chehalen Valley, and Naylor near Forest Grove, were among the pioneer apple producers, and in that period, before the army of fruit pests that have later appeared to consume the trees or foliage, or to blight the fruit, the crops were certain as well as prices remunerative. The young flocks of sheep were also producing fine fleeces, and the thrifty housewives spent the winter evenings around the fires carding wool, or spinning yarn, and knitting stockings, or paring apples. To the homesick young men arriving across the plains, or by the stormy sea, the scenes around the hospitable hearths of the pioneers, where the firelight from the blazing fir branches, which lit the slower logs of green oak, afforded sufficient light to perform the work, and the row of beds in the dim rear of the big log-built house was wrought into mysterious shapes of dreamland, behind their seemly curtains, the Webfoot land, as they visited from house to house, became known as the country of "woolen socks, big red apples," and, of course, incomplete without the addition "of pretty girls." Certain it is that for these three luxuries of the new Oregon and California the enterprising young fortune seekers often came to the Webfoot country.

By the discovery of the mines, therefore, although the center of population on the Pacific Coast was almost immediately changed to California, a much

larger supply of means for the necessities of life was available, and the wants and ideas of the people were considerably modified. Much greater thought than had hitherto been possible was given to the acquisition of wealth, and worldly prosperity occupied many minds that had heretofore been chiefly concerned with moral or religious problems, or working out the national and political questions of the hour; or else, as in the old Arcadia of French Prairie, were spending their days in placid recollections of past years of the fur trade and were verging toward their hundred years of life under the pleasing thought that the heroic age was passing away with them. In this time, as will be noticed more particularly as the various forms of enterprise are summed up under their appropriate heads, many of the leading forms of industry, as transportation by navigation and rail, manufacturing, banking, and lumbering and mining in our own territory, were beginning to take form in the active minds who saw that the industrial supremacy of California was but temporary.

But while these revolutionary changes were going on among the white people, the old problem of occupation and government of the country itself again came up, and required several years to reach even a tolerable settlement. This, of course, was the Indian question. It is a subject that the historian approaches with great diffidence, and finds a multitude of sympathies on each side. To the Indian mind the multiple life of civilization was incomprehensible,

both physically and morally. It was their ingrained belief that certain lands, or rounds, were the exclusive property of the various tribes. This was inherited from even Asiatic conditions, where the nomadic people think it very wrong to wander beyond their ancestral boundaries. Each tribe felt measurably safe if it kept within its required limits. The fruits of the region were the gift of the Great Spirit, or rather the god of the tribe; the earth, air, and water was also their peculiar possession. They had the very highest title—God, or their particular god, had given it to them. Not only was it the home of the living, but equally of the dead; their fathers and friends were still dependent upon those that lived to supply their wants in the spirit world, and to guard their graves. If any were allowed to come within the limits of their grounds it was only by an act of friendship and peculiar grace on the part of the tribe. Any that would violate this primary right to their grounds, were the most abandoned of men. To their local conceptions even the sun and the moon and stars, and the winds, were special patrons of their country. These were known to have lived upon some hill or within some valley in the distant past, and had now only ascended to the sky over them, for greater beauty and life. Distant countries were imagined as dark and monstrous lands, where all the old giants that their favorite god had subdued might still be found.

When the white men came and told of their own

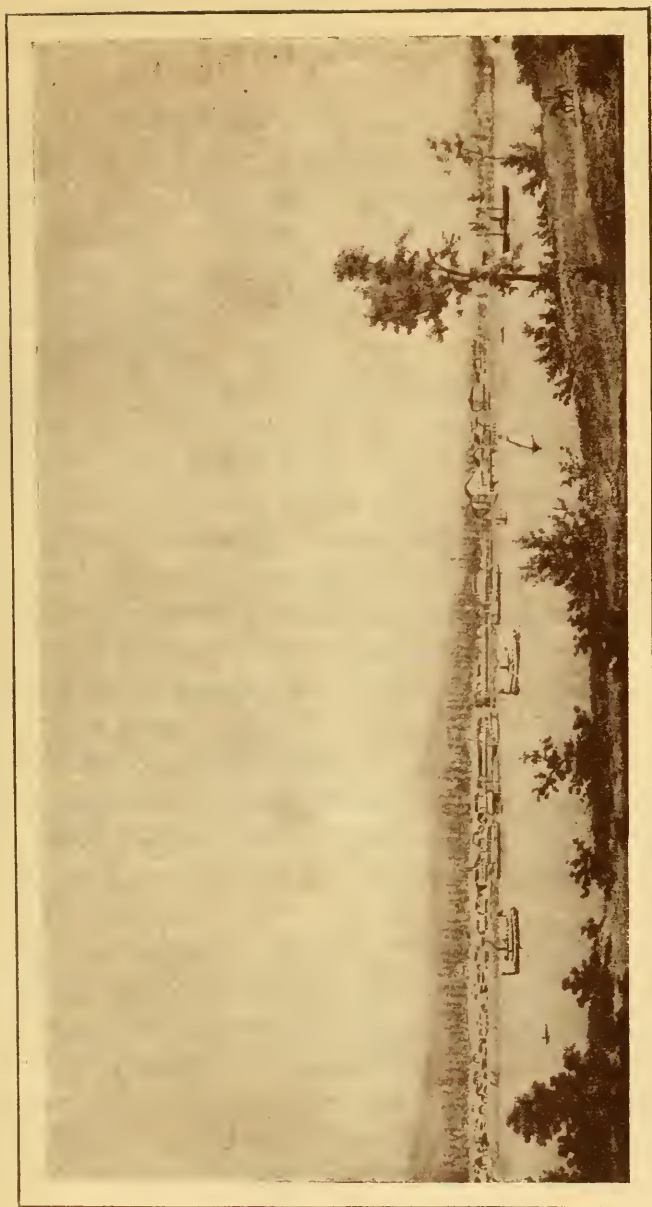
land toward the rising sun, the Oregon Indians assumed that they had the same attachment as themselves to their own country, or "illahee," and would soon return. If they did not do so, and showed a disposition to stay, they concluded that such must be bad men, who had been cast away from their own land. Finally, as the whites not only came and stayed, but brought others with them, the question arose how to rid their country of the intruders and regain their own original possessions. To the most aggressive race they felt the most hostility; with the least aggressive they had ever been disposed to form alliances. The French had been preferred in Canada to the English, and nearly all the tribes were willing to aid the forces of Montcalm to retain French supremacy in America. To the English, who continued to a great extent the methods of the French, they gave the preference in the struggle with the rising American colonies. Burgoyne in Canada and New York, and Hamilton in Upper Canada and Illinois, could always rely upon Indian allies. In the Northwest Territory, of Canada and the Dakotas, the Indians readily adhered to the British for companies, and the Sioux, Blackfeet, and others of the border tribes became constant and troublesome enemies of the Americans. For the Hudson's Bay people in Oregon the Indians had formed a deservedly strong attachment, in line also with their natural affiliations for some centuries past.

With all these claims and sympathies, however,

strong and natural as they were, the student of human progress cannot admit a controlling right. These sentiments would deny change of any kind, and virtually resolves the idea of right into simple habit, or precedent. As stated by Dr. Whitman, in discussing this point, "the Indian cannot demand exclusiveness." Although the belief was held by the Indians that they had the most perfect right, that of the earth and air, and consent of all nature for ages, to their exclusive use and control of the land, it was not an opinion that could be conceded by the white men. The position both of the Indian and the white man was clearly apprehended by this great missionary, and the conflict that was likely to arise in Oregon as well as in all places where civilization breaks in upon barbarism, was all but anticipated. His only solution was to give the Indian the opportunity of instruction, that he might prepare himself for the change that was approaching. If he would listen and learn he might be saved; if he refused, he must be lost.

It is a question how much the aboriginal opposition of the Indians to the revolutionary advance of civilization might have been obiated by patient and undisturbed teaching preparatory to the change. That the disposition of the Nez Perces and Spokanes, and even of the Cayuses and Wascos, was considerably modified by the work of the missionaries, seems certain. That such work should not have been undertaken in every tribe is a matter of regret. The re-

sponsibility of the more intelligent and powerful race to enable the slower and weaker to prepare for their share in organic society cannot be questioned. Such work as that of Father Duncan at Metlakatla, Alaska, seems to be evidence that long continued and faithful culture, extended over one or more generations, may save a very large proportion of a primitive race. But for the most part the whites have not been philanthropists. The Americans and English of the later day have forgotten the work done among their ancestors by the monks of the Middle Ages, which made them capable of receiving ideas almost as revolutionary as those required of the Indians of Oregon. Nevertheless the Indians cannot be justified for their outbreaks, nor can the American settlers be blamed for defending their homes and families. Heavy censure will always fall upon many renegade whites, who abused the Indians without provocation, taking their property sometimes without compensation, perhaps rifling their graves for treasure, or burning their burial poles for wood, or not respecting their family relations. History will hold such acts in increasing abhorrence; they will be acknowledged with shame by every Oregonian through all coming time. But the highest respect will be paid those who, after the Indians had been either provoked to vengeance, or on their own account committed aggressions, took the field and brought about order, and made the country safe for white and Indian alike. There is always to be found a larger or smaller proportion of men



VIEW OF PORTLAND, OREGON, IN 1858, FROM THE EAST SHORE OF THE WILLAMETTE RIVER

devoid of both intelligence and humanity, and to these must be referred wanton acts that the justice of events required to be paid in blood. But the greater number, and the leading men among the Oregonians, were eminent for humanity; fighting only to terminate hostilities, and ready to give the Indians an equal chance with themselves and their families in our great nation.

It is not intended here to give in any detail the history of the Oregon Indian wars. These require volumes by themselves. But in no series of facts is the moral unity of the Indian and the white race better illustrated than that wrong committed by either side has always been found to react upon the other. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, burning for burning, and life for life," has been a rule observed throughout all generations. It was a remark of Hawthorne's that the unity of the species was shown by the sins and diseases of mankind. Perhaps the equality of the races is shown in the fact that injustice to the weaker is meted out to the stronger, not always by the weaker, but by the consequent divisions among the stronger.

The first outbreak after that of the Cayuses was by the Southern Oregon Indians. These seem to have been regarded from the first as tribes of Ishmaelites. They comprised the numerous Klamaths and the Modocs on the east side of the Cascades, and the Rogue Rivers on the west side; with the Shastas also and Pitt Rivers in California. So far as appears no

such friendly overtures as won the hearts of the Nez Perces and Kalispels were extended to them, but all travelers regarded them as enemies. Their methods of warfare seem, indeed, to have been unusually cruel, as they used the poisoned arrows; and we have the account of the onslaught made by them upon Turner and his party; while the attack at an earlier period upon Jedediah Smith at the mouth of the Umpqua indicates a savage disposition. As has been narrated by William M. Case, the miners traveling to and fro between the Willamette Valley and California held these tribes as open enemies, and expected to be attacked and to defend themselves at any point in their country. We have accounts, so far as appear, of wholly unprovoked attacks upon unsuspecting immigrants; as when at a night camp, as a family were just retiring from the fire, a shower of arrows came into the circle, by one of which a young lady was wounded in three places, as she was leaning forward unlacing her shoes. On the other hand we have the story of Tipsu, whom Captain Thomas Smith, of Ashland, regarded as a highly honorable and unusually intelligent man. As if to offset the acts of the savages there were also some white men who made the pacification of the country infinitely difficult, and gave the savages themselves lessons in treachery. It is only with the intention of enabling the reader to distinguish more clearly between legitimate and illegitimate settlement of a new country that the following from an account by Judge Deady is here in-

served. Describing his visit to Southern Oregon in connection with holding court on the circuit to which he had been appointed, he says :

“ At Grave Creek I stopped to feed my horse and get something to eat. There was a house there, called the ‘ Bates House,’ after the man who kept it. It was a rough, wooden structure without a floor, and had an immense clapboard funnel at one end, which served as a chimney. There was no house or settlement within ten or twelve miles of it. . . . Bates and some others had induced a small party of peaceable Indians, who belonged in that vicinity, to enter into an engagement to remain at peace with the whites during the war which was going on at some distance from them, and by way of ratification of this treaty, invited them to partake of a feast in an unoccupied log house just across the way from the ‘ Bates House,’ and while they were partaking, unarmed, of the proffered hospitality, the door was suddenly fastened upon them, and they were deliberately shot down through the cracks between the logs by their treacherous hosts. . . .

“ About this same time, these same parties, by some device captured an Indian chief and his boy, and agreed with the boy that if he would go into the mountains and hunt down an Indian chief who had refused to come in and treat with them, and bring his head, they would liberate his father; otherwise they said they would kill him. The filial young savage, for his father’s sake, understood the task, and

taking his rifle went alone on the trail of the old chief, and in due time returned with his head, *a la* Judith, which Bates hung by the hair to the roof tree of his house, as an Indian trophy, where I saw it with my own eyes. But this was not all. Instead of liberating the captive, they killed both him and his son." The truth of these accounts is strongly asserted by Judge Deady, who says that from 1853 to 1859 he passed four to six times a year holding court in that district, and never heard the story as he related it questioned by any one. But he adds with evident relief, as acquitting the people of Southern Oregon of the guilt, that Bates soon after left the country and went to South America.

The outbreak in the summer of 1853 began, as stated by others, with unprovoked massacre of teamsters on the Siskiyou Mountain, and attacks upon settlers and their families on the Rogue River. Gold had already been discovered on this river, and General Lane, during the recess of Congress was engaged here in mining. The beginning of this war is thus described comprehensively by Colonel Nesmith: "During the month of August of 1853, the different tribes of Indians inhabiting the Rogue River Valley in Southern Oregon suddenly assumed a hostile attitude. They murdered many settlers and miners and burned nearly all the buildings for over a hundred miles along the traveled route, extending from Cow Creek on the north, in a southerly direction, to the Siskiyou Mountains." General Lane was called upon

by the body of citizens, whose duty was defense, to accept command of the militia. The captain of the regular army, Alden, and Col. John E. Ross, of Jacksonville, joined General Lane and served under his command.

The leaders of the Indians were some well-known old chiefs known as Joe, John and Sam; supported by younger ones, such as George and Limpy—already well known to the incoming miners. The chief, Tipsu, already mentioned, did not take part in the outbreak, having promised Captain Smith to be a friend of the whites. The honor in any war consists in terminating the state of hostilities. This is the true function of the soldier. In this case the honor fell to General Lane. He gathered his command and made a vigorous pursuit of the savages, who were now well armed with rifles, and retreated toward the Umpqua range. On Evans' Creek they made a stand in a mountainous country, and held a strong position fortified by brush and fallen timber. Upon this Lane himself advanced and charging through the brush received a musket ball in the arm. Others of the attacking party were also wounded, and here Pleasant Armstrong, one of the oldest residents of Oregon, was shot through the heart and instantly killed.

Lane was well known and greatly admired by the Indians, and when it was seen, as the ranks of the two forces closed, that it was he who was leading the attack, they proposed that he call off his troops and come to them, and arrange terms of peace. With the

utmost coolness and courage he promptly decided to accept their proffer. Although wounded he walked into their camp, ordering in the meantime a cessation of hostilities, and saw there many wounded Indians, and others dead, while still other dead bodies were being burned. This scene told the severity of the punishment inflicted on the Indians. After a long conference, as related by Nesmith, it was agreed that there should be a truce on both sides, and that both parties should return to the vicinity of Table Rock, in the Rogue River Valley, and keep the peace until General Joel Palmer, who had been appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, should be sent for and a treaty should be made between the discontented tribes and the United States. Both parties returned, marching in near vicinity, but not molesting each other; the whites occupied a camp in the plain upon the Rogue River, while the Indians chose a strong and almost inaccessible position high up on, and just under, the almost perpendicular cliffs of Table Rock. While this might be thought to be allowing the Indians a great chance to secure a strong position, it was also advantageous to Lane, as he was enabled thus to receive reinforcements from the acting Governor of Oregon, Geo. L. Curry, and from the United States army officers.

Major Raines, stationed at Vancouver, of the United States infantry, responded to the call of the Governor for arms and ammunition, but was deficient in troops to convey them to Lane. Nesmith, already

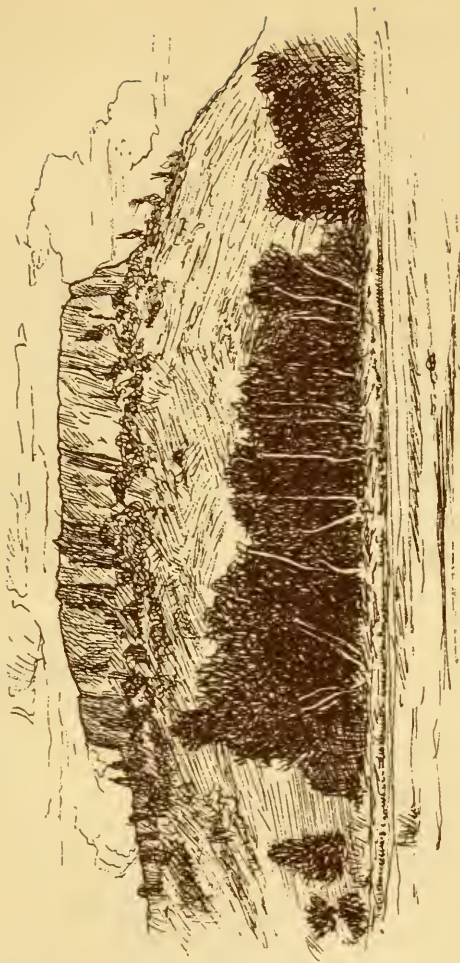


TABLE ROCK, SOUTHERN OREGON

Scene of Gen. Lane's negotiation with the Indians.

known in connection with Cayuse War, tendered his services and was authorized to raise a company and carry the supplies to Lane. Seventy-five men were enlisted, mostly in Salem, and marched to Albany, where they were soon joined by Second Lieutenant August V. Kautz, in charge of the wagons with rifles and supplies. On the eighth of September these auxiliaries reached Lane on the Rogue River. He was also joined the same day by Captain A. J. Smith, with Company C, United States Dragoons. All those thus fortuitously gathered on the Rogue River, in full view of the romantic ledges of Table Rock, where several hundred well armed and strongly entrenched Indians, under desperate leaders, awaited their arrival, subsequently earned well deserved reputations in their respective lines; Nesmith going to the United States Senate, and Kautz and Smith gaining distinction, and receiving the title of General during the war of the Rebellion. Moreover, they felt sufficiently strong to attack and annihilate the Indians, and, as Nesmith says, "the whole command was anxious and willing to fight." Lane, however, though a fighter, was also a statesman, and believed that negotiation would accomplish more than war; or that force should not be employed when consultation would effect the purpose. He had also given the Indians his word that he would meet them on terms of peace. Joel Palmer and Samuel Culver, the agent, were now on the ground, and the armistice did not expire until the 10th.

On the tenth occurred a scene famous in history. Courage, and a certain confidence in Indians who had already, and also on subsequent occasions, been proved to be very "bad," was relied upon in place of violence; and succeeded. Nesmith was asked to accompany the general and act as interpreter. As he says he was not disposed to trust the Indians. "I asked the general," he relates, "upon what terms, and where, we were to meet the Indians. He replied that the agreement was that the meeting should take place within the camp of the enemy; and that he should be accompanied with ten other men of his own selection, unarmed." Nesmith deemed such terms as likely to prove the death of the whole party, and protested; he believed these Indians thoroughly disaffected and unreliable, and while he had come with full purpose and willingness to fight them, felt unwilling to act as interpreter under such conditions. The General listened to the protest, but simply replied that he was inflexibly determined to keep the word of his agreement, and if Nesmith was afraid to go he could remain behind. On this ground, Nesmith, who was as brave as Lane himself, said that he would accompany his commander, although he fully believed it would be to his slaughter.

The scene in the Indian encampment, and its perils, but final success, should be described in the language of Senator Nesmith. He says:

"Early on the morning of the tenth of September, 1853, we mounted our horses and set out in the di-

rection of the Indian encampment. Our party consisted of the following named persons: General Joseph Lane, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Samuel P. Culver, Indian Agent; Captain A. J. Smith, First Dragoons; Captain L. F. Mosher, Adjutant; Colonel John E. Ross, Captain J. W. Nesmith, Lieutenant A. V. Kautz, R. B. Metcalf, J. D. Mason, T. T. Tierny. By reference to the United States Statutes at large, V. 10, p. 1,020, the most of the above names will be found appended to the treaty that day executed.

“ After riding a couple of miles across the level valley we came to the foot of the mountain, where it was too steep for horses to ascend. We dismounted and hitched our horses and scrambled up for half a mile over huge rocks and through brush and then found ourselves in the Indians’ stronghold, just under the perpendicular cliffs of Table Rock, and surrounded by seven hundred fierce and well armed hostile savages, arrayed in all their gorgeous war paint and feathers. Captain Smith had drawn out his dragoons and left them in line on the plain below. It was a bright and beautiful morning, and the Rogue River Valley lay like a panorama at our feet; the exact line of dragoons, sitting statuelike upon their horses, with their white belts and burnished scabbards and carbines, looked like they were engraven upon a picture; while a few paces in our rear the huge perpendicular walls of Table Rock towered frowningly, many hundred feet above us. The busi-

ness of the treaty commenced at once. Long speeches were made by General Lane and Superintendent Palmer; which had to be translated twice. When an Indian spoke the Rogue River tongue it was translated by an Indian interpreter into Chinook, or jargon, to me, when I translated it into English; when Lane or Palmer spoke the process was reversed, I giving the speech to the Indian interpreter in Chinook and he translating it to the Indians in their own tongue. This double translation of long speeches made the labor tedious, and it was not until late in the afternoon that the treaty was completed and signed.

“ In the meantime an episode occurred which came near terminating the treaty as well as the representation of one of ‘ the high contracting parties ’ in a sudden and tragic manner. About the middle of the afternoon a young Indian came running into the camp stark naked with the perspiration streaming from every pore. He made a brief harangue and threw himself on the ground apparently exhausted. His speech created a great tumult among the tribe. General Lane told me to inquire of the Indian interpreter the cause of the commotion. The Indian responded that a company of white men down on Applegate Creek, and under the command of Captain O., had that morning captured an Indian known as Jim Taylor, and tied him up to a tree and shot him to death. The hubbub and confusion among the Indians at once became intense and murder glared from

each savage visage. The Indian interpreter told me that the Indians were threatening to tie us up to trees and serve us as O.'s men had served Jim Taylor. I saw some Indians gathering up lasso ropes, while others drew the skin covers from their guns and the wiping sticks from the muzzles. There appeared a strong probability of our party being subjected to a sudden volley.

“ I explained as briefly as I could what the interpreter communicated to me and in order to keep our people from huddling together and thus making a better target for the savages, I used a few English words not likely to be understood by the interpreter, such as “ disperse ” and “ segregate.” In fact, we kept so close to the savages, and separated from one another, that any general firing must have been nearly as fatal to the Indians as to the whites. While I admit that I thought my time had come, and hurriedly thought of wife and children, I noticed nothing but coolness among my companions. General Lane sat upon a log with his bandaged arm in a sling, the lines about his mouth rigidly compressing his lips, while his eyes flashed fire. Captain Smith, who was prematurely gray-haired, and was afflicted with a nervous snapping of the eyes, leaned upon his cavalry sabre, and looked anxiously down upon his well formed line of dragoons in the valley below. His eyes snapped more vigorously and muttered words escaped from under the old dragoon's white mustache that did not sound like prayers. His squadron

looked beautiful, but alas! they could render us no assistance. I sat on a log close to old Chief Joe, and having a sharp hunting knife under my hunting shirt, kept one hand near its handle, determined there should be one Indian made 'good' about the time the firing commenced.

"In a few moments General Lane stood up and commenced to speak slowly but very distinctly. He said: 'O., who has violated the armistice and killed Jim Taylor, is a bad man. He is not one of my soldiers. When I catch him he shall be punished. I promised in good faith to come into your camp with ten other unarmed men to secure peace. Myself and men are placed in your power; I do not believe you are such cowardly dogs as to take advantage of our unarmed condition. I know that you have the power to murder us, and can do so as quickly as you please, but what good will our blood do you? Our murder will exasperate our friends, and your tribe will be hunted from the face of the earth. Let us proceed with the treaty, and in place of war have a lasting peace.' Much more was said in this strain by the general, all rather defiant, and nothing of a begging character. The excitement gradually subsided after Lane promised to give a fair compensation for the defunct Jim Taylor in shirts and blankets."

The above recalls the scene of Captain Lewis with the Shoshone tribe, when he gave the chief his rifle, bidding him shoot if he proved untrue; or of Captain Ross in the country of the Yakimas, when he

gave the insolent Yaktana a "chief's knife," with which he might at once have been stabbed; or of McKenzie when he held a slow match near a keg of powder and told the Indians about to rob him, that he would light the combustible if they did not at once leave. The Indian admires a "big heart" and will seldom commit an act of cowardice if made to understand that such an act contemplated will be so regarded. The treaty was then taken up again, completed and signed, and peace was restored for two years.

Judge Matthew P. Deady, who was still in Southern Oregon attending court, has given—["Pioneer Association Transactions," 1883]—some additional particulars of much interest. The judge rode twelve miles to accompany Lane on the peace commission, but found him already gone; and then followed alone, but witnessed the transactions. He says: "The scene of the famous 'peace talk' between Joseph Lane and Indian Joseph—two men who had so lately met in mortal combat—was worthy of the pen of Sir Walter Scott or the pencil of Salvator Rosa. It was on the narrow ledge of a long, gently-sloping hill, lying over against the noted bluff called Table Rock. The ground was thinly covered with majestic old pines and rugged oaks, with here and there a clump of green oak bushes. About half a mile above the bright mountain stream that threaded the narrow valley below, sat the two chiefs in council. Lane was in fatigue dress, the arm which was wounded

at Buena Vista in a sling from a fresh bullet wound received at Battle Creek. Indian Joseph, tall, grave and self-possessed, wore a long black robe over his ordinary dress. By his side sat Mary, his favorite child and faithful companion, then a comparatively handsome young woman, unstained with the vices of civilization. Around these sat on the grass Captain A. J. Smith—now General Smith, of St. Louis—who had just arrived from Fort Orford with his company of first dragoons; Captain Alvord, then engaged in the construction of a military road through the Umpqua canyon, and since Paymaster-General of the United States Army; Colonel Bill Martin, of Umpqua; Colonel John E. Ross, of Jacksonville; Captain, now General John F. Miller, and a few others. A short distance above us on the hillside were some hundreds of dusky warriors in fighting gear, reclining quietly on the ground.” The episode following the report of the killing of Jim Taylor is not mentioned by Deady.

CHAPTER V

OPENING OF THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

FROM the settlement of the Oregon Boundary and the discovery of gold in California, the history of our State becomes merged into that of the industrial age of the nation. The military age, however, which had been characteristic of the occupation of North and South America from the first discoveries, except as modified by the great general humane ideas that exist more or less in all phases of social development, passed out with wars along the western and southern borders, and with the final crash between the conception of labor that usually obtains under a military age, and that which is necessary in an industrial age. Oregon had to meet both these conflicts before industry on large lines could be undertaken; being directly involved in the series of border wars, and indirectly, but still very seriously affected by the great struggle between the system of slave and free labor. At this date we may look without bias or prejudice upon the tremendous passions that attended the controversy between the two systems, that of the South and that of the North. It is now almost difficult to revive in memory the force of these antagonisms. We can see better, after the troubles of the Southern people with an emancipated race, what they foresaw and apprehended. We can appreciate the evils that they perceived would be connected with a change of system, not only in their section, but in the entire nation. The age of industrialism has also its vices, its speculations, its frauds and corrup-

tion, and evil passions, and develops its own class of characters. But, on the other hand, we can all see more clearly than ever that the course of social evolution is irreversible. The free system must everywhere supplant the slave system; and this all the more as machinery takes the place of human muscle. The educated and free man alone can control the giants of steam, fire, and electricity; working with iron sinews that never tire. The vassal, serf, peon, client, or slave, and the savage also, cannot exist in the age of fire and steel. Each must be emancipated and trained for a freeman's work, or cease to live. This necessity cuts with two edges; the freeman cannot and will not compete with the slave; the slave cannot do a freeman's work while his hands are manacled; or give him a freeman's chance and his first effort is to break his manacles.

These familiar facts, instanced with an emphasis never before known in our recent history, need only be alluded to here, as forming the distant and grand perspective of the course of events during these years in Oregon.

Industrial ideas of society were very early brought into Oregon. It was the longing of the first missionaries to see the grassy hills covered over with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and the natives trained to habits of herdsmen and tillers of the soil. One of them* said that he hoped to persuade the Secretary of War that sheep were better than sol-

* Marcus Whitman.

diers for the Indians. Another, Samuel Parker, was the first to mention in a public way the practicability of a railroad through the South Pass. This was in 1837, as the results of his exploring tour with Whitman; and he stated that there appeared no difficulty here greater than had already been surmounted in bringing railways across the Green Mountains. Probably both Whitman and Parker, on this tour, took delight in tracing what they believed a practicable railroad route across the continent. Once this was done, then six days would suffice for a journey already reduced by American enterprise to six months. Enterprise would not then be required to halt so long between projection and fulfillment. Men who then grew old in simply journeying would be able to apply their days to productive effort. Senator Benton was one of the first to be willing to proclaim publicly that steam would be successfully applied to industrial projects between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. He said in a public speech in 1844, at St. Louis, as already quoted in a previous volume: "The steam boat and the steam car have not exhausted all their wonders. They have not yet found their most appropriate theaters—the tranquil surface of the North Pacific Ocean, and the vast inclined plains which spread east and west from the base of the Rocky Mountains." He was willing then to risk the prediction that the adult men of his time would see this accomplished. He probably did not foresee the Civil War, which seemed temporarily to

check the idea of this vast industrial undertaking; but within twenty-five years steam cars actually passed from the Missouri to the Pacific. He was prepared to believe that his faith would be questioned, or ridiculed, and threw in the challenge that his hearers might not believe so sanguine a prophecy, but summoned them as witnesses of its verification.

Such glowing predictions, as a matter of fact, did not escape ridicule. Senator Dayton, of New Jersey, who along with Choate, of Massachusetts, and Calhoun and McDuffie, of South Carolina, had made it a point to berate and belittle Oregon, said the same year in the United States Senate:—"The power of steam has been suggested. Talk of steam communication!—a railroad to the mouth of the Columbia? Why, look at the cost and bankrupt condition of railroads proceeding almost from your capital, traveling your thoroughfares. A railroad across two thousand five hundred miles of prairie, of deserts and of mountains! The smoke of an engine through those terrible fissures of those great rocky ledges, where the smoke of the volcano has rolled before! Who is to make this vast internal, or rather external improvement? Whence is to come the power? Who is to supply the means? The mines of Mexico and Peru disemboweled would scarcely pay a penny on the pound of the cost. Nothing short of the lamp of Aladdin would suffice for such an expenditure. The extravagance of the suggestion seems to me to outrun everything we know of modern scheming. The

South Sea Bubble, the Dutchman's speculation in tulip roots, or our own town lots and multicaulins, are all commonplace plodding in comparison." Such raillery, however much discredited by the course of history, seemed then to have the better sense, and that any private individual or company, or the government itself, quitting its time-honored purpose of simply providing the public defense and distributing offices, should be able to supply more means than had been dug from all the mines of the new world thus far, seemed both chimerical and demagogical. Men that proposed such schemes might very well be set down, if persons of ordinary intelligence, as having some private speculation to serve.

But the Oregon people, having an unlimited faith that what ought to be done would be done, and that although they were too poor even to build a good wagon road over the nearest of their mountain ranges, still, as Samuel Barlow had said, "God never made a mountain but there was a way over it or under it," watched with great concern any indications of the American people taking up the grand project. It was with great delight, therefore, that they observed that a memorial of George Wilkes's had been addressed to Congress embodying their favorite scheme. In their memorial addressed to Congress in 1846, they take occasion to mention this as follows: "Before closing this, our memorial, we cannot but express with mixed astonishment and admiration our high estimation of a grand project; (the news of which

has found its way to Oregon) by the memorial of George Wilkes, Esq., for a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. That such a thing should exist [ought to exist] cannot but be obvious to every person, particularly to those who have traveled from the United States to Oregon. And although some years may roll before the completion of this great undertaking, yet we shall anxiously look forward for the time when, by such a work, commerce shall stride with gigantic steps over those wild and solitary regions now known only as the hunting grounds of the trapper or red man."

A. L. Lovejoy, speaker of the house, who also signed the memorial as such, undoubtedly inspired this paragraph, the memorial being prepared in December of 1846. We find that in the autumn of the next year—September 25, 1847—he was chosen chairman of a public meeting the primary object of which was to appoint a committee to co-operate with an effort to build a national railroad. He presented the resolution, with a preamble:—"Whereas the citizens of Oregon Territory are fully convinced of the great importance of a national railroad across the Rocky Mountains to this country, and cannot in justice to themselves forbear the first opportunity offered to express to the Congress of the United States the high admiration in which they hold so magnificent an enterprise: To commend such a project to that government it would seem to be sufficient for the citizens of Oregon who have mostly crossed the Rocky Moun-

tains, to state in general terms that the route for such a project is feasible to insure it the favorable consideration of the government; or at least have great weight in establishing a link which will complete a great central chain of inland communication, connecting the waters of the Atlantic with those of the Pacific, contributing thereby in various ways to wonderfully facilitate commerce and travel, to elevate and enrich this country, to consolidate national sentiment, and to strengthen the ties which bind the States together as a political union, therefore—

“ Be it resolved,” etc.—The resolution was simply for a committee of five to devise some means of expressing the views of the people on the subject in a memorial to Congress. The resolution was carried, and Lovejoy, Colwell, Taylor, McCarver and T’Vault were appointed. The above resolution and preamble, although grammatically rather formidable, is highly valuable as showing that the Oregon people belonged in spirit to the industrial community of the United States, and wished also to strengthen the bonds between the sections of the Union, and believed a national railroad would do this.

Here, indeed, was touched a great policy that was beginning to take form in the minds of the most active people of the North. As the South was beginning to show a disposition to separate from the Union, the North began to seek a closer union with the West. Instinctively the Northern leaders felt for a reënforcement to the National Idea among the peo-

ple of the Western and Pacific States or Territories. This was immensely stimulated by the success of Oregon in securing a territorial government without admitting slavery, and still more so when California was brought in at one stroke as a free State. The discovery of gold in California, and the reasonable probability that all the Pacific Coast was gold-bearing seemed also a fulfillment in the most tangible way of the prediction of Benton and the Western pioneers, that the wealth was present to build the road when needed. Aladdin's lamp proved to have been found by the hardy men who had but to pick up the California gravels, and (with certain necessary limitations) it turned to "dust" in their hands.

Pressure began to be made on Congress to initiate the Pacific Railway. This began almost immediately upon the inauguration of General Franklin Pierce in 1853 as President. The new President was a Democrat, although from the North, and belonged to the party that believed in expansion. It was deemed a favorable time, therefore, for the people of the West who had believed in expansion to the Pacific Ocean, to press the Pacific Railroad project. But no sooner was the cabinet formed than it was seen that it would be impossible to carry through any extensive measure at once. Then and there began the maneuvers of the railroad lobby which have made many persons pessimistic whether the industrial age was an advance over the military age. True, the battles were not fought on an open field, with men as the pawns

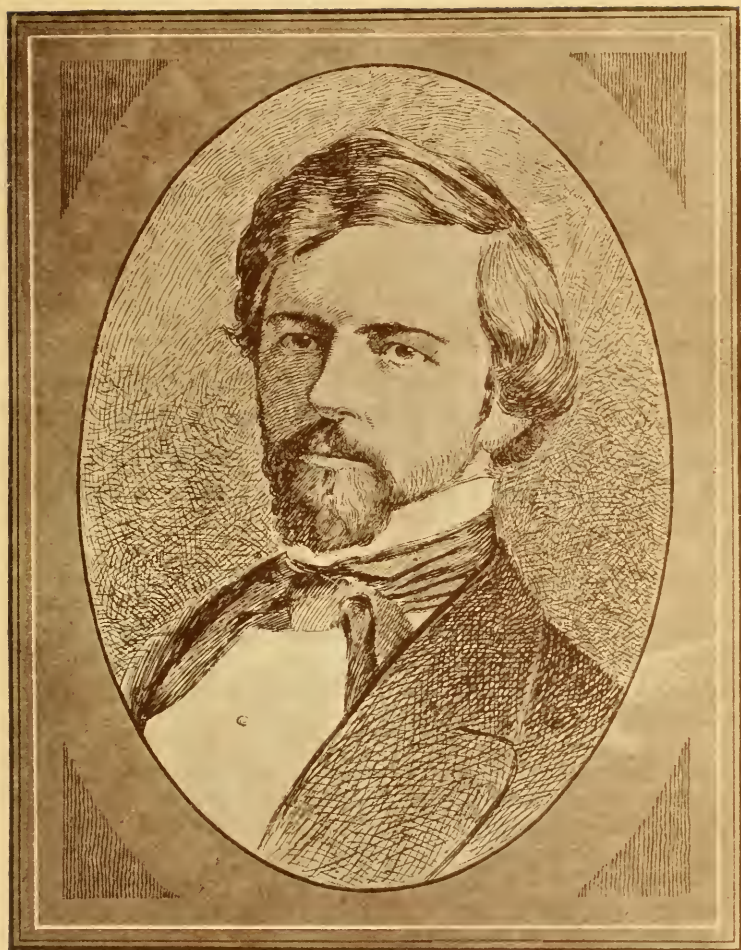
moved to and fro; but the schemes and counter-schemes, and impositions upon an eager public, have partaken of the agony of long battles and wars. The new Secretary of War was Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, who was already known to favor expansion, but chiefly at the South. This gave assurance that the engineer and army service of the government would be brought under Southern conceptions. Accordingly a bill was brought into Congress authorizing a survey of three routes to the Pacific Ocean. Such a bill could be passed, as each section felt sure that its route would at least be surveyed; and believed that after this was done some sort of step could be taken to commence building its own particular desired line. Here was laid the whole theory and practice of building railroads under government aid or land grants, on the Pacific Coast. As anticipated these surveys were to be made under direction of the Secretary of War.

Among those watching with great interest the progress of both political and industrial affairs, was a young army officer, who had served with ability in the engineer department of the Mexican War, and had earned the special commendations of General Scott for brilliant reconnoitering work, and valuable recommendations in directing the movement of troops. This was Major Isaac Ingalls Stevens. He was now in the department of the Coast Survey at Washington. In him is well illustrated the spirit of the times. As a youth he had shown unusual mathematical abilities, and sought an appointment at

West Point thinking that in military life he would realize his ambitions; the military hero, especially as exemplified in Cromwell, being his ideal. After passing through the Mexican War, however, he began to feel a distaste for his profession, especially as a book written by him, intended to vindicate Scott, was very coldly received by the general. He had from a youth been a Democrat, and a *loco foco* abolitionist. He was a brilliant writer and strong speaker, and soon perceived that in military life, corroded except in great struggles, by petty and conventional restrictions, he had no large outlook. He publicly canvassed for Pierce against Scott; and upon the inauguration of the successful candidate applied for a civil position; resigning his commission in the army.

The position he asked was as Governor of Washington Territory, just set apart from Oregon Territory, and embracing the entire slope north of the Columbia and Snake, from the Rockies to the Pacific. As Stevens's career is intimately connected with affairs concerning the Indians of the entire Northwest slope, it will be necessary to follow it briefly here. The history of the two divisions of the old Oregon are also so closely connected that they form in fact one narrative. Both the Indian history and the railroad history are essentially the same.

It was for great and vigorous service that Stevens selected this field, and the office of Governor was desired chiefly as giving him the authority to promote



ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS

the Pacific Railway;* he therefore applied that the survey of the Northern Route be intrusted to him; and also that with his office should be combined the position of Superintendent of Indian affairs. This, as has been well remarked by his biographer, his son, involved a Napoleonic sort of conception; and he was undoubtedly strongly charged with the idea of uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific by a great connecting link of civilized communication. He organized a company of surveyors, made a reconnoissance, examining the Rocky Mountain chain at nine passes, and himself reached the Sound, organized his territorial government, and made the trip east by Panama, to confer with the President, and to bring out his family. This was all within a year of his appointment.

* As to the prosecution of this undertaking it is stated by Hazard Stevens:—

“It was Governor Stevens’ plan to effect this vast work by means of two parties operating simultaneously from both ends of the route, the principal one starting from St. Louis at the eastern end, under his own immediate charge; and the other, the western end, under McClellan, to meet on the Upper Columbia plains between the two great mountain ranges; and two subsidiary parties—one under Lieutenant Donelson” to Fort Union on the Missouri, with supplies; the other under Lt. Saxton, from the Columbia to the Bitter-root Valley. McClellan was to explore about two hundred miles. Stevens, although now a civil officer, believed that he could secure army men by volunteer service to prosecute the survey with him. These he readily obtained on application. From the interior department he obtained the sum of six thousand dollars for Indian goods as presents; employed A. W. Tinkham and Fred W. Lander as civil engineers; placed Professor Baird of the Smithsonian in charge of the collections of natural history; made Isaac Osgood disbursing officer; Dr. John Evans, geologist; Drs. George Suckley and J. G. Cooper, sur-

The prime object of his return was to obtain the President's authority to inaugurate a definite Indian policy. His heart was in the railroad construction. But he knew that to attempt this in the Indian country without first extinguishing the Indian title would be simply to invite border wars with the natives. On account of this necessity, and also owing to the opposition that was soon manifested in the war department, the prosecution of the railroad survey was obliged to halt. From Olympia, the capital of the Territory just created he made a complete report of his reconnoissance, speaking in high terms of the coun-

geons and naturalists, and J. M. Stanley, artist. It was in connection with Stevens that George Gibbs and Elwood Evans came to Washington; the one becoming eminent as a student of Indian languages, and the other as a resident of Washington, being a lawyer, judge, and deservedly popular author and lecturer on early history of this coast.

Geo. B. McClellan, then in the engineer corps of the U. S. army, was to proceed by the Isthmus to the Columbia, and was furnished letters of introduction to Governor Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to leading settlers. He was also intrusted with constructing the military wagon road from Steilacoom, an army post near the old Fort Nisqually, across the mountains to Walla Walla, for which twenty thousand dollars had been appropriated. Even at this early stage there arose difference of opinion as to the proper route for the transcontinental line through the Cascades. Stevens was from the first disposed to favor a direct route over the mountains, believing that although higher than the ranges of the Eastern States they would prove no more difficult. McClellan considered them too precipitous and snowy for the survey, and reported that the route by the pass of the Columbia was the only one worth considering. This conclusion is charged by Hazard Stevens to the constitutional inertia of McClellan; but although two lines now cross the Cascade mountains in Washington, the question was of serious discussion, and it is still to be proved whether the bulk of heavy freighting will be drawn over the high gradients.

try and route, and urged that the survey be continued throughout the winter in order to determine the winter climate and depth of snow in the passes. But at this point his work was checked by an order from Secretary Davis, disapproving his arrangements, and ordering the winter posts discontinued. As an explanation of this order the following letter to Stevens from Halleck, an army friend, is given here. This is not quoted as authoritative history, but as the view taken by a Democrat of that time, who, however, like Stevens, belonged to the national rather than the sectional wing of the party. Halleck writes:

“ I have by no means lost my interest in the Democratic party, or the great public questions of the day. The first and most important of these is the great continental railroad. Present examinations would seem almost conclusive against Benton’s central project. If so, this road must run from some point in New Mexico to some pass near Los Angeles, and thence to San Francisco (and San Diego, perhaps). If this southern route should be selected it would lead to another northern route, perhaps the one explored by yourself to Puget Sound. Even if a single road should be adopted on the central line, it must fork to San Francisco and Puget Sound, the two great termini of the Pacific Coast.

“ The pro-slavery party will work very hard against the North Pacific States, which must of necessity remain free. The first branch of this project was to call a new convention in California, dividing it

into two States, making the southern one a slave State, with San Diego as the port and terminus of a railroad through Texas. Circulars and letters were sent to pro-slavery men in California, and the attempt made to divide the State, but it failed. The next move was to acquire Lower California and part of Sonora and Chihuahua, making Guaymas the terminus, and the newly acquired territory slave States. Two separate plans were set on foot for the same object, the Walker 'filibustering' expedition against Lower California and Sonora, and Gadsden's treaty with Santa Anna. The former is thus far a most complete and contemptible failure, but rumor says the latter is likely to be successful, and will be undoubtedly, if backed with sufficient money. If the territory is acquired it will be slave territory, and a most tremendous effort will be made to run *a* railroad if not *the* railroad from Texas to Guaymas, with a branch to San Francisco."

Thus all things were diverted from their purely industrial objects to meet the all absorbing political questions of the day, and it might have even then been apparent that if the slave system fell it would fall like Lucifer—drawing down a tenth part, or more, of the stars. It was from these days that the Northern Pacific Railroad began to be looked upon as a great patriotic movement among the people of the North.

But while the two sections were thus trying their strength before the final armed struggle, the people of Oregon and Washington were to pass through a

period of general Indian war. Under the circumstances this may be regarded as inevitable; with the disposition and character and interests of the Indians as they were, and but little modified by education or an acquired intelligence great enough to grasp the situation; and with the rapid acceleration of immigration under the excitement of mining and prospect of railway communication, which brought many who felt absolutely unable to wait an instant to grasp the gold mine or the townsite, whatever the rights of the aborigines might be. It was the intent of the Government to extinguish the Indian title as had been done in the Ohio and Mississippi Valley, and settle the Indians on lands of their own, and in the meantime to pay them annuities and furnish agents, teachers and physicians.

In pursuance of this policy a Superintendent of Indian Affairs was appointed in 1850 to proceed to Oregon, where no such officer had been appointed, excepting that Chas. Pickett, at the time in California, had been commissioned as Indian agent upon establishing Oregon as a Territory. The first Superintendent was Anson Dart, of Wisconsin, who arrived in October of the same year, with R. C. Dart as his secretary. Three Indian agents were appointed, A. G. Henry, H. H. Spalding, and Elias Wampole. One of the orders under which they were to proceed was that no goods should be bought from the Hudson's Bay Company. This was also adopted as a principle with Stevens; his object being that there

must be no intermediary influence between the Government officers and the Indians. In 1851 there was also appointed an Indian Commission, to treat with the tribes for the purchase of their lands. This was composed of the newly appointed Governor of Oregon, John P. Gaines; and Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen, who arrived in February of 1851, and in the course of the spring held a council at Champoeg, and treated with the remnant of the Santiam Indians, one hundred and fifty-five in number, from whom they bought a tract of the Willamette Valley eighty by twenty miles; and with sixty-five Tualatins, of whom they bought a tract fifty by thirty miles. In May treaties were completed with the Luckiamutes, Calapooias, and Molalas; compensation to be made to all; the latter tribe receiving forty-two thousand dollars. It was significant that these Willamette Valley Indians refused to receive teachers or education, and showed no interest in learning the white man's industry. They said that they had but little time to live and their tribes would soon be extinct; it was not worth while to try to change their ways. It was the first intention to remove them to the Upper Country, but they begged to be left in their old homes, where their fathers were buried. Small reservations were accordingly allowed them west of the Cascade Mountains. Dart, upon whom the duty of making treaties was now imposed, although the twenty thousand dollars had been nearly all expended at Champoeg, made a trip to the Cayuses, finding them

dwindled to the number of but one hundred and twenty-six, with but thirty-eight men; and to the Nez Perces, who were still flourishing and numbered all together about twenty-five hundred. Returning from the Upper Columbia he made treaties with the Lower Columbia and Chehalis tribes, including the Clatsops and coast Indians as far south as Yaquina Bay; and later with the tribes of the Southern Oregon Coast, purchasing the lands for goods and implements as far as the Indians would take these, but also with annuities of money. In this work, as it proceeded, and in leading the Indians to understand the obligations they had assumed, he was greatly assisted by J. L. Parrish; without whom progress seemed at one time to be well-nigh balked altogether. Reservations were allowed the tribes, and these usually in the very best part of the country claimed as their native haunts.

This system of extinguishing the Indian title has often been stigmatized as a hollow mockery and a mere hypocritical palliation of a transfer already made in fact; and opening the way to speculations by agents and interested traders such as to make the very name of such officers synonymous with thief. It is not the purpose to discuss the merits of the system. It was the one adopted, and was the only recourse to open the territory to settlement and prevent the complete destruction of the Indians by settlers who were invited by the government to occupy the country and open farms. Previous to the adoption of this system

the tribes of western Oregon and Washington along the Lower Columbia perished by the thousands, under contact with the British as well as the Americans. Under the reservation system there has been no such mortality. The remnants of the tribes seem to have been saved, to some degree, by segregation and from promiscuous contact with the whites.

In the interim, however, the tribes became very restless and troublesome. In 1851 the Shoshones, or Snakes, who had originally been very friendly to Americans, committed many outrages; as many as thirty-one of the immigrants passing through the country were killed, some under circumstances of great atrocity, giving to the Indians the merited title of "red devils"; and eighteen thousand dollars' worth of property was destroyed. The previous year as many as forty thousand immigrants crossed the plains, about ten thousand of whom came to Oregon. Whites in such numbers excited and demoralized the Snake Indians, through whose country they passed, and induced them to beg and pilfer, and when occasion offered to rob or murder. From these whites, who were of all classes, all sorts of treatment was received; the fool not being lacking—one such being mentioned who drew his gun and shot a perfectly unsuspecting young Indian woman for the simple purpose of saying that he had killed an Indian. This one, however, was not defended by his companions, who allowed him to be caught by the tribe, and punished: being flayed alive.

In the Rogue River Valley in southern Oregon much the same scenes were enacted. The miners passed through and crossed the rivers. It was frankly stated by Jo, the celebrated chief, to General Lane, whose name he took, that two white men entering their country were first watched, as perhaps intending mischief; but as they built their campfire and went to rest, it was decided to kill them. Others were despatched in the same manner. A party of whites was attacked and robbed in 1848, during the Cayuse War. After the discovery of gold the Oregon miners crossing the river usually were obliged to make canoes; which, as soon as the party passed on, were appropriated by the Indians. One party desiring to have the canoes on their return waited after crossing, concealed in the brush, until the savages came to take them, and firing upon them killed a number. In revenge the Indians then sought to waylay and kill miners regardless of their behavior. Gold was discovered on Rogue River, near the present site of Jacksonville, on the place of Alonzo A. Skinner, in 1852, having the previous year been discovered on the Klamath and in the Shasta Valley. The experiences in California were soon re-enacted. Parties of all sizes and of all kinds of men were bent on exploring every stream and gulch. Whites themselves sometimes quarreled or fought, and killing done by them was credited to the Indians. An extensive exploring and settlement scheme was undertaken on the Umpqua, the schooner "Samuel

Roberts," under Captain Lyman, from San Francisco, entering the mouth in 1850, and meeting there a party of Oregonians, Jesse Applegate, Levi Scott, and Joseph Sloan. In his company were a number of well educated young men, Jas. K. Kelley, and Winchester and others. A colonization company was formed, Scottsburg, Elkton and Winchester being laid out as towns. Supplies for the miners were brought in at this point, and the project was carried on the next year, Addison C. Gibbs, afterward governor of the State, arriving as agent; but the company was soon broken up. From these and others, exploring and prospecting parties were formed: T'Vault, of Oregon City, heading one such party, but barely escaping with his life, and that principally due to the kindness of an Indian boy, on the Coquille. About the same time, also, an effort was made by Aspinwall, of the Pacific Mail Company, to find a harbor on the southern Oregon Coast, to leave the United States mail, and not be obliged to enter the Columbia. A station at Port Orford was attempted, and for a time a company of United States dragoons was posted here.

Such conditions could not but lead to violence, in absence of any effective laws or regulations. Sometimes the Indians were the aggressors, and sometimes the whites; private or tribal vengeance alone limiting the measure of punishment if any tribe felt itself aggrieved. Governor Lane, a delegate during this time, but engaged in mining awaiting his return to

Washington, was the heroic figure, as already narrated. After the affair at Table Rock, and the treaty then made, a certain degree of peace was maintained until the great coalition and outbreak of all the tribes under the lead of the Yakima chiefs Ow-hi and Kamiakin; and Leschi, a half Yakima of Puget Sound.

The question of a settlement with the Indian tribes was not one of power; they were practically defenseless against the arms of the United States, or even against the white settlers if these had desired to organize and wage a war of extermination; but was rather a question of moderation. It was desired to preserve the Indians in their rights without provoking their hostility or sweeping them off the face of the territories.

The more powerful tribes were in the new Territory of Washington. On the Southwest were the Chinooks, Wahkiakums and Cathlamets; the Chehalis, occupying the territory on the Columbia and northward to and including Gray's Harbor; the Cowlitz on the Cowlitz River, and the Quinaielts, on the Quinaielt, west of the Olympia Mountains. All together they were numbered eight hundred and forty-three; the Lower and Upper Chehalis numbering over half of these, while the Chinooks had dwindled to but one hundred and twelve. These numbers were given by themselves, and were about half the true figures. A leading chief of the Chinooks was Nekahty; and of the Chehalis, Carcowan, with his son Tleyuk. In the latter part of February, 1855, Stevens met these

Indians in a council on the lower Chehalis, and proposed a treaty, ceding the bulk of the lands of their tribes to the United States, but with a large reservation for all on the Quinaielt River. To this the Quinaielts were disposed to assent, but the others hesitated; Tleyuk at length persuaded the Chehalis not to leave their own lands; saying also that he believed nothing that the Governor said, but that the real intent was to place the Indians on steamers and transport them to some distant and ill-favored region beyond the ocean. He gave the names of white men as his authority, who were found to be old Hudson's Bay Company employees. This does not necessarily prove that the Company, or even its old employees, had made such representations of the purposes of the Americans. The same suspicion constantly appears in the speeches of the Indians, that "the Americans will come with their fire canoes and take you (the Indians) to a dark land where the sun never shines and you shall die"—as said by a chief on Whidby's Island at a much earlier date. However, the Quinaielts, and the Quillayutes, a tribe still farther north, sold their lands for twenty-five thousand dollars, two thousand five hundred dollars in improvements; and a reservation of ten thousand acres. Taholah and How-yatl, as chiefs of the two tribes, witnessed the treaty. The reservation was much extended when it was found that the number of Indians was greater than reported.

The Indians of Puget Sound Basin, numbering

over eight thousand, were found to be very tractable, and perfectly willing to sell their lands, reserving only a small portion. Some, indeed, said frankly that they had not hitherto set any value upon the land, but now that the whites proposed buying it their eyes were opened. They were willing to take annuities and showed an interest in education and white man's industry. The most influential chief of the Nisquallies was Snohodumtah, or Gray Head, who had been a friend of the Americans since their settlement at Tumwater. Previous to that time his tribe had suffered much from the kidnapping of their children by parties of the Snoqualmies; but this had ceased, owing to the presence of Michael Simmons and the American settlers. In Simmons, indeed, all the Sound Indians had great confidence. The chief of the Duwamishes, or Duwampsh, was Sealth—a name corrupted by the whites to Seattle—who was a friend of the Americans. The most influential chief of the Snoqualmies was Patkanim, whose brothers Johnkanim and Cassas, were war chiefs. An attempt had once been made by the Snoqualmies to capture the Hudson's Bay post at Nisqually; the two brothers making an assault while Patkanim was inside the fort apparently unaware of their effort. But since that time he had become very friendly to the Americans. The Nisquallies, Puyallups, and other tribes at the head of the Sound received \$32,500 in annuities, \$3,250 for improvements, agent, school, doctor, etc., and as by all the other treaties abolished slavery and use

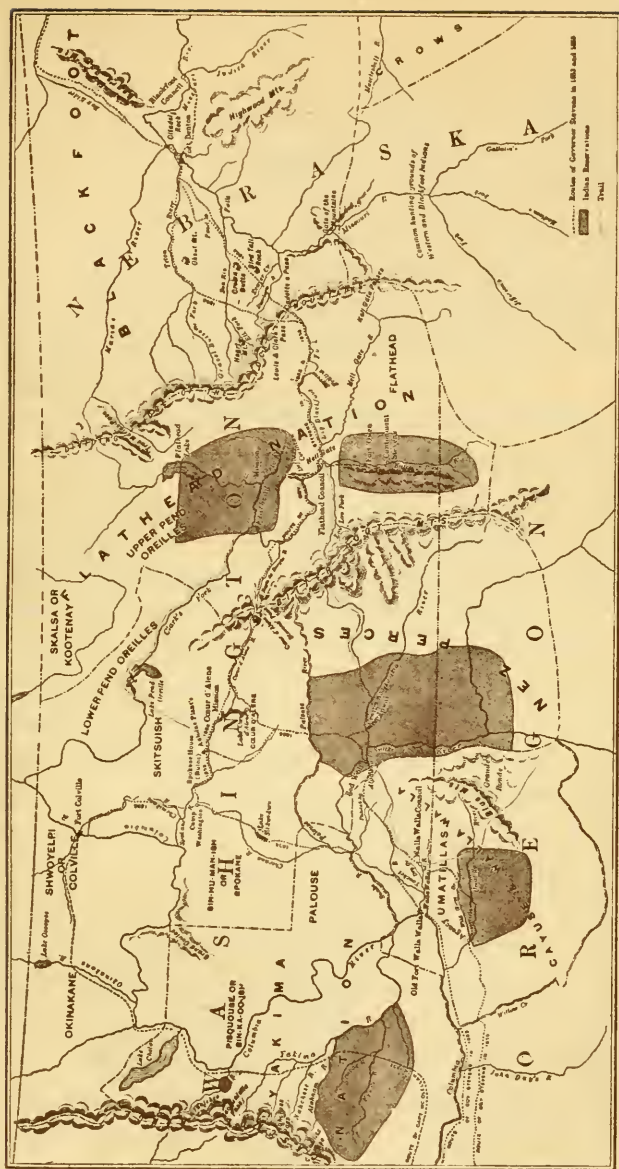
of ardent spirits, and were given a small reservation, afterward enlarged to the present Puyallup. One of the signers of this treaty was Lesh-high (Leschi), who was half Yakima, and was chief instigator of the Indian War soon following. Snohodumtah (Snohodumtset), Sealh, and Patkanim, remained friendly. The Snoqualmies and Indians of the northern Sound received \$150,000 in annuities, and other benefits; and the Tulalip Reservation. On the west side the tribes were concentrated on the Skokomish River, the Duke of York, or Chitsamahan, of the Clallams, being very friendly, and received \$60,000, and the other benefits, and reservation. A treaty was also concluded with the Makahs, at Neah Bay, a sturdy, industrious tribe, who have from time immemorial fished the halibut and whale on the open sea in their canoes. They were given \$30,000 in annuities, with the other benefits, and a small reservation, allowing an admirable location for prosecution of their fishing industry, by which they still earn a good livelihood, and compare favorably with a white community.

Simmons, Gibbs, Shaw, and several others accompanied Governor Stevens on the trip around the Sound, the first being Indian agent, the second, secretary and the third, interpreter. So far as appears all these tribes comprehended that their hold on all the land was insecure, and were glad to receive a title to a definite tract which could not be alienated. The treaties seem to have been entered into intelligently by the Indians, without coercion of any kind, and it

will be seen that although large regions of territory now very valuable were alienated, they were still sold at a price to afford more to the original owners than if retained for mere hunting and berry grounds. As a matter of fact, also, fully as much of the public domain per capita was allowed the Indians as to the whites by the Donation Act. As is well known the Indians have now been settled in severalty upon their lands, the remainder having been bought again by the government. A clear disposition to preserve all the rights of the Indians has been manifest in the policy of the government, and it was carried out with great wisdom by Stevens, and also by Dart in Oregon. In full light of the worst that can be said of the Indian agency, or the miscarriages of a just intent, it is still true that no incorporated people have ever been treated with greater effort to secure their rights and welfare; and without the interposition of the reservation system the Indian population would have melted away as on the Lower Columbia in 1829-32.

The treaties negotiated with the western Washington Indians were but preparatory to meeting the tribes of eastern Washington. These were an enterprising and active people, at least double in number those of western Washington. The Cayuses of Oregon alone had dwindled to insignificance. Isticcus, the friendly Cayuse, was still living; as were also Young Chief, Five Crows and Camaspelo. The Walla Walla and Umatillas (ranging along the Columbia) numbered about one thousand. Yellow Serpent, or

Pupumoxmox (Peopeomoxmox) of the Walla Wallas, was growing old, but was still astute, and very wealthy. He had large bands of horses, some cattle, and often kept one or two thousand dollars' worth of beaver skins in his lodge; besides considerable money. He profited by trade with the immigrants. The Nez Perces numbered 3,300; were very wealthy in horses, were acquiring cattle, and adopting agriculture. Their leading chief was Ishholholhoatshoats, the Lawyer, already mentioned as meeting Whitman and Spalding on Green River. He was a steadfast friend of the Americans. The Spokanes numbered 2,200, and their chief was Garry, who had been educated in a Red River school. They were well affected toward Eells and Walker, but did not wish white settlements. The Cœur d'Alènes, and the Flatheads, who were under a strong Catholic influence, were as yet firm friends of the Americans. Victor was the principal chief of the Cœur d'Alènes. Since the days of Lewis and Clark, who mention them as the friendly Ootlashoots, they had prospered greatly, and advanced both in wealth and education. They numbered 2,250; the Cœur d'Alènes, 500. The great central tribe was the Yakimas, ranging from Idaho, as at present, to the Cascade Mountains, and according to Stevens, including the Palouses on the east and Klikitats on the west; the word Klikitat, indeed, not being their own, but meaning "robbers," and bestowed by the western tribes, whose country they ravaged in search of slaves. They



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES FROM CASCADE MOUNTAINS TO FORT BENTON IN 1855
 Reproduced from Life of General Isaac I. Stevens.

numbered 3,900. A leading chief was Ow-hi, or Aourhaie, as spelled by Father Blanchet—a half Um-atilla. He is stated by Blanchet to have been detained among the Cayuses during their outbreak, 1847, but was still a good Indian. Another chief, known as a more stirring leader, although perhaps not so great an organizer, was Kamiakin. Ow-hi, Lesh-high, and Kamiakin, were the three great movers in the coalition against the whites.

It was determined by Stevens to meet all these Indians in council, and propose that they sell their lands, reserving sufficient for agricultural and pastoral purposes, using the public domain also as pasture and hunting grounds until claimed by the white settlers. This was a very different proposition from treating with the tribes of western Washington. It was already known that the Upper Country Indians meditated an outbreak. In 1853 Major (afterward General) Benjamin Alvord, stationed at the Dalles, learned through the priests stationed in the upper Yakima that the tribes considered that they had a right to the entire upper Columbia Basin, and would resist settlement by the whites. Indeed, the Indians themselves said to Alvord as he was making a tour of their country, that they had no objection to persons who were merely hunting, or to men wearing swords passing through their country, but they dreaded the “approach of the whites with plows, axes, and shovels in their hands”—the farmers and miners. Alvord considered a dangerous uprising so

imminent that he thus reported to his superior, General Hitchcock, commander of the Pacific Coast division, by whom, however, they were discredited, and Alvord was removed from his command at The Dalles. He felt it his duty, however, to give to Stevens, the governor, information of "these threatened Indian difficulties, and of the gigantic scale of their proposed insurrection." As stated by him, the governor himself fully realized the impending peril; he perceived that it would be entirely idle to hold up the whole upper country as an Indian empire, or to roll back the tide of immigration. He set about, therefore, with all the more expedition to induce the upper Columbia tribes to cede their lands and thus obtain a secure title to a part, and make good to the white immigrants the offer of a Donation claim held out as the government's invitation to settlement.

In the spring of 1855, after the treaties with the Sound tribes were concluded, Mr. Doty, and two Indian agents, A. J. Bolen and R. H. Lansdale, were sent to the Yakima to make an appointment for a general council. By Kamiakin it was said that it should be in the valley of the Walla Walla: "There is the place where in ancient times we held our councils with the neighboring tribes, and we will hold it there now." That this was even then subtle and treacherous advice was fully proved by his action at the council; he meditated an outbreak, and would make use of the council itself as the occasion, and that in the country of the wavering Pupumoxmox, who



KAM-I-AH-KAN,
Head Chief of the Yakimas

Reproduced from "Life of General Isaac L. Stevens." This engraving follows an original drawing made by Gustave Schon, a soldier who accompanied General Stevens on his treaty making trips.



would be held responsible by the whites for the event. This became known to Father Ricard, who warned Stevens that the Yakimas, among whom was his mission, were plotting to cut off the white chiefs who attempted to hold a council. But the council was held.

This was a picturesque affair. The spot chosen was on the chief branch of the Walla Walla, Mill Creek, and at the very site of the Garden City, as now styled. Here was the ideal spot of the Indian nature worshiper; the valley of waters, where a number of streams, of sufficient size to turn large mill-wheels, spring full-grown from the ground, and meandering over the wide bottom lands of the creek, attest their course by the fringe of water-loving trees, and vines with gorgeous blossoms. In the distance, roll the grassy uplands, purple with flowers and bunch grass under the atmospheric effects of an inland climate; and the wooded heights of the Blue Mountains range far away to the east and south. The time was in May, and the whole upper country was at that season but an endless succession of hills and fields of herbage and flowers. The effects were all the more heightened that at the time of making the journey from The Dalles there were heavy showers of rain, and the entire region was sparkling with fresh verdure. Accompanying Stevens was Joel Palmer, the Oregon commissioner; Lawrence Kip, afterward Major; and Lieutenant Gracie, with forty men detailed by Major Raines from the post at The Dalles as guard. A large quantity of goods, as presents to the Indians, had al-

ready been forwarded in boats up the Columbia under an escort of twenty-five men.

The tent was found pitched, and Doty and Higgins, the packmaster, had all things in readiness. A herd of beef cattle, an immense pile of potatoes, and stores of sugar, coffee, flour and bacon, were in readiness for banqueting the Indians who might attend. It has been remarked that if any uncivilized man, or even a wild animal, can be induced to eat with a host, he will not afterward betray the confidence. The civilized man alone has been known to accept such bounty treacherously. The officers on the part of the whites at the council were Governor I. I. Stevens, for Washington; Joel Palmer, commissioner for Oregon; James Doty and Wm. C. McKay, secretaries; R. H. Crosby and N. Olney, commissaries; R. H. Lansdale, and R. R. Thompson, agents; William Craig, N. Raymond, Matthew Danfer, and John Flette, interpreters. A. D. Pambrun, and several others also acted as interpreters. The Nez Perces under Lawyer, 2,500 strong, were first to arrive. They came in full war dress and aboriginal splendor, and made a grand military salute, riding at the top of their speed, wheeling, and forming a circle, then coming stock still while Lawyer dismounted, shook hands with the governor, and twenty-five sub-chiefs followed. The warriors and braves in the meanwhile charged and wheeled, wound and unwound in most spectacular mazes of movement, beating drums, discharging their guns, and uttering their various ear-splitting war cries.

This was all in token of military honor, and attested their friendship, as they carried high in the air the American flag presented them by the Oregon troops in the Cayuse War. Provisions were issued and were readily accepted by the Nez Perces, and during the whole time of the council the chiefs ate with the Commissioners, or their representatives. The Cayuses, Walla Walla and Umatillas arrived the next day, but made no parade, or salutation. Pupumoxmox was recognized as their chief; and his friendship might well be mistrusted. Some years before this, his son Elijah, a promising youth, had been killed by whites in California, whither the Walla Walla had gone to buy—or, as some say, to steal—cattle and horses. This loss had rankled ever since, and at every Indian trouble it was said “Elijah was killed, and nobody was hanged for it.” The Cayuses made this one of the list of their grievances, Pupumoxmox now refused provisions, and would not eat with, or accept tobacco from, the Commissioners.

Father Chirouse, of Walla Walla mission, and Pandosy, of the Yakima, arrived, and reported that all, unless Kamiakin, were favorable. This chief, who was the impersonation of native pride, had said to Doty that “he had never accepted anything from the whites, not even to the value of a grain of wheat, without paying for it.” He was over six feet tall, and Governor Stevens says of him: “He is a peculiar man, reminding me of the panther and grizzly bear. His countenance has an extraordinary play,

one moment in frowns, the next in smiles, flashing with light, and black as Erebus the next instant. His pantomime is great, and his gesticulation much and characteristic. He talks mostly in his face and with his hands and arms." That Stevens had no mean men to deal with was forced upon his attention by the manner of the Young Chief, head man of the Cayuses, of whom he writes: "The haughty carriage of these chiefs and their manly character have, for the first time in my Indian experience, realized the descriptions of the writers of fiction." Garry, with a retinue of his Spokanes, arrived after the Walla Wallas, and Father Mentrey, from the Catholic mission among the Pend d'Oreilles, soon followed. It was noticed by Stevens that on the Sabbath, May 27, the Nez Perces held service, the native preacher, Timothy, delivering a sermon on the Ten Commandments, and the governor says: "The Nez Perces have evidently profited much from the labors of Mr. Spalding."

The Yakimas arrived the next day, being met by agent Bolon; and Pupumoxmox, Kamiakin, Ow-hi and Skloom paid their respects to Stevens, shaking hands cordially, but smoking only their own tobacco. This apparent cordiality was not a good sign; and it was not improved when to the invitation of Stevens that the Cayuses accept his provisions, Young Chief replied, "We have plenty of cattle," and to the invitation that he accept some for the Yakimas, who had come a long way, he said, "Kamiakin is supplied at

our camp.” It was hardly surprising, indeed, that it was soon reported by Spotted Eagle, a Nez Perce subchief, that the Cayuses had been attempting to induce three of the Nez Perce chiefs to attend a council, without the knowledge of Lawyer, with them, and Pupumoxmox and Kamiakin. That the object of the Yakima chief in attending the council was rather to plot with the Cayuses and Walla Wallas, and if possible divide the Nez Perces, was thus evident. Of this, however, Lawyer, whose friendship never wavered, soon learned positively by his own spies. Even while the council was proceeding the Yakimas and Walla Wallas were forming a conspiracy with the Cayuses to suddenly rise and massacre the whites on the Council ground, and while the terror of this event was still fresh, attack the settlements, and carry on a war of extermination against the whites. Lawyer disclosed all to Stevens, and but for this a massacre as terrible as that of Whitman might have been perpetrated. Even if Lawyer had simply withdrawn, or been neutral, and Stevens had attempted to retire from the council grounds, the defeat of Haller might have been his. But Lawyer concluded his information by saying “I will come with my family and pitch my lodge in the midst of your camp, that those Cayuses may see that you and your party are under the protection of the head chief of the Nez Perces.” By this act—which was performed at once—the conspirators were notified that their design was known, and that in any attack Lawyer might be killed; and

that then the entire Nez Perce tribe would avenge his death. The Nez Perces numbered about half of those on the ground. There were at least five thousand Indians in the valley, says Major Kip.

The council was continued and Stevens believed that seeing a combination against him was impossible the hostile chiefs had concluded to treat in good faith. The Nez Perces readily agreed to accept a reservation. Two were proposed; one on the Clearwater and Salmon River, of three million acres, for the Walla Wallas, Cayuses, Umatillas and Spokanes; and the other on the upper waters of the Yakima River, for the Yakimas and kindred tribes. The feeling of the Indians was readily disclosed. They could not leave their native grounds. The Nez Perces readily accepted the plan; but even Sticcus, a thoroughly friendly Cayuse, said, "If your mother were in this country, gave you birth and suckled you, and, while you were suckling, some person came and took away your mother and left you alone, and sold your mother, how would you feel then? This is our mother, this country, as if we drew our living from her. My friends, all of this you have taken. Had I two rivers I would leave the one and be content to live on the other."

The Young Chief, of the Cayuses, said he would "not sell his country. He heard what the earth said. The earth said 'God has placed me here to take care of the Indian, to produce roots for him and grass for his horses and cattle.' The water spoke the same

way. God has forbidden the Indian to sell his country except for a fair price, and he did not understand the treaty.”

Pupumoxmox said “ Goods and the earth are not equal. Goods are for using on the earth. I do not know where they have given lands for goods.” Kamiakin refused to discuss the matter, saying simply, “ I have something different to say from what the others have said. They are young men who have spoken as they have spoken [meaning the Nez Perces]. I have been afraid of the white man. His doings are different from ours. Perhaps you have spoken straight—that your children will do what is right; let them do as they have promised.” This speech of the Yakima, while courteous in tone, is full of implied threats.

Stevens felt fully that here was the crisis, but it could not be explained to the Indians. This was the turning point in their history. They held a view of possession irreconcilable with the new conditions. That they must adjust themselves to a white man's settlement of the country was evident enough and Stevens said to Ow-hi, who had declared that God would be angry if he sold his land, “ Ask yourself this question to-night, ‘ Will not God be angry with me if I neglect this opportunity to do them [his people] good? ’ ” He desired them to understand that the Americans were willing to give them the same, or even a better, opportunity than their own people; but the country could not be closed to settlement. He

had not, neither had the government itself, the power to check the American settlement of the country. His measures were as a protection to the Indians. But this could not be explained, or understood. The savage and the civilized conception of rights confronted each other, but there was a space of darkness between. At length, however, although the Nez Perce camp was thrown into confusion by the arrival of Looking Glass, fresh from a conflict with the Blackfeet on the other side of the mountains, and bearing scalps, and making an ineffectual effort to oppose the treaty and discredit Lawyer, and make himself head chief—an agreement was reached. Steven's policy to remove the Walla Wallas and neighboring tribes to the Nez Perce country, was given up. He evidently wished them to be under Lawyer; but their love of their old grounds was too great. They were allowed a reservation on the Umatilla, in Oregon. Special trading privileges were allowed Pupumoxmox, who assented, but at once added contemptuously, "Now you may send me provisions." The next Sunday, Timothy again preached, condemning Looking Glass and those Nez Percés, who would break the faith of the tribe. Kamiakin at first refused to sign, but suddenly seemed to become reconciled, and with all the others, including the Nez Perce Sub-chief Looking Glass, attached his name to the treaty.

This, however, did not signify that he was agreed to give up his lands. He refused presents, saying that when the annuities were distributed he would



BLOCK HOUSE ON WHIDBY ISLAND, PUGET SOUND



MIDDLE BLOCK HOUSE AT THE CASCADES

take his share. It only meant that he and the other recalcitrants were convinced that they could not strike a successful blow at the council. They immediately hastened their preparations for general war, and set up the claim that the basin of the Upper Columbia must not be settled by white people. Governor Stevens, whose business was now to meet the Blackfeet and other tribes on the Missouri, proceeded at once across the Rockies. Kamiakin visited the tribes urging a general coalition.

CHAPTER VI

PERIOD OF INDIAN WARS

IT has been necessary to follow the movements of Governor Stevens in Washington, as he brought thus freshly to the Pacific Coast the industrial impetus that sought a practical expression in construction of a line of transportation across the continent and reaching the wealth and industry of the Orient directly across the Pacific Ocean. He also brought most immediately the already matured policy of the American Government to confirm to the Indian natives a title to certain lands, and purchase the rest with a view to settlement and improvement by the American people. He made the railroad survey, of which a paper so far south as San Francisco, the *Herald*, said frankly: "Of all the surveys ordered by the Government at Washington with a view to the selection of a route for a railroad across the continent, that intrusted to Governor Stevens is by far the most satisfactory." By Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, his report was discredited, his estimate of cost increased about thirty-eight millions, and the region, with which Stevens was so charmed, and which has since become a great stock and wheat raising belt, he depreciated, remarking that "the country west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific slope may be described as one of general sterility," and that "the severely cold climate throughout the whole route, except the portion west of the Cascade Mountains, is one of its unfavorable features." He also, accepting McClellan's unfavorable report, stated that owing to the depth of snow on

the Cascades the route then was impracticable. Still further, Stevens treated with the Indians who instigated and planned the general uprising against the Americans, whom it became necessary for the people of Oregon to subdue.

But it is now time to take up the thread again in Oregon, and show very briefly by whom, and in what manner, the Indian problem was solved. In 1846 arrived a gentleman destined to play an important part in the policy and public affairs of Oregon. This was George Law Curry, a journalist by profession, who had in Boston been somewhat connected with the well-known Field publishing house. Making his way westward he halted for some time at St. Louis, and became deeply impressed with the idea of connecting the Mississippi Valley with Oregon by rail. He advocated the plan in 1845, in his paper; thus placing himself on record as one of the first to agitate the industrial occupation of the continent to the Pacific. The next year, however, he mounted his horse and with a single companion, set his face toward the Pacific. We catch glimpses of him here and there along the road, as he rapidly passed the trains of Missouri wagons, on one occasion assisting in the release of a young man* who had incautiously excited a band of Sioux Indians, and been captured by them. He reached the Willamette by the southern route, and thus had the opportunity to see the wonders and enchanting beauties, and natural wealth of

* An uncle of Sam. L. Simpson.

the Rogue River and Umpqua valleys, and to experience some of the hardships of that section of the immigration. Arriving at Oregon City his abilities in journalism were at once found in demand, and he was placed in editorial charge of the *Oregon Spectator*, a semi-monthly, already established by T'Vault and others. Curry was an all-around newspaper man, and could perform any part of the work in the office, from setting type—or indeed making missing types out of hard fir bark—to writing editorials and filling in the corner poetry. Not a little of the form and taste of journalism in Oregon can be traced to the old *Spectator*. Curry was by no means a polished or easy composer of poetry, but had for this mode of expression an invincible fondness, and as his verses were not so good, but that many others thought they could do as well, almost every literary dabbler cultivated the Bucolic muse, and to this may be traced the beginnings of our literature; Miller, Simpson and Markham coming up after Curry. In 1848 he started a weekly newspaper of his own, the *Free Press*, an amusing feature of which was the home-made “w’s”; the metallic type being from a French press; but as has been said by a biographer, he found the country too “weird, wild and wonderful” to manage without the English letter; and hence made some wooden types.

On the resignation of General Hamilton as territorial secretary, Curry was appointed to the place, and on the resignation of Gaines as governor, in 1853,

the duties of acting governor fell upon the journalist. He was devoted to the arts of peace, and so scrupulously honest that he was said to return to the United States Government the premium realized on his government orders; but his term fell almost at once upon the Rogue River War of the year he assumed office; which was terminated as related in a previous chapter, by Lane at Table Rock. In October of the same year arrived John W. Davis, of Indiana, as the new governor. On account of the uneasiness felt from the Indian outbreak a law was passed by the territorial legislature for organization of a militia. In April of the next year, 1854, officers were appointed by the governor, and the organization was effected. J. W. Nesmith was made brigadier-general; E. M. Barnum, adjutant-general; M. M. McCarver, commissary-general; and S. C. Drew, quartermaster-general.

Although the Indians pacified by Lane kept the peace during this year, other tribes did not. In Southern Oregon the condition was rapidly assuming the deplorable features of a race war. The Coquilles attempted to resist the occupation of their country, and were attacked by a force of forty miners, by whom fifteen were killed, and women and children taken captive. The trouble was quieted by a tour of Palmer and Parrish. This year Coos Bay was occupied by whites and the towns of Empire City and Marshfield were laid off. The first coal was shipped in 1855. The Shastas also went on the war path in

1854, but were pacified by Governor Davis, who distributed presents, after they had been checked by a company of volunteers under Jesse Walker. General Wool, commanding the department of the Pacific at San Francisco, with occasional tours to Fort Vancouver and Fort Steilacoom, refused United States troops, reporting to the war department that there was no need of them; the trouble was fomented by whites for speculative purposes. He wrote, however, early in the year, that there would be a thousand troops needed to protect the Indians from the whites; and again asked General Scott for additional troops, but was refused. As this was the beginning of the disposition shown by General Wool to discredit the Oregon people, it may be said that it was not without some color of reason. All through northern California and southern Oregon the miners pushed their discoveries without regard to the wishes or rights of the Indians. The very nature of mining, as has been remarked, led the prospectors into all sorts of places; they went alone, or in groups of two or three, and after striking a bar or gulch with pay dirt, desired to keep the place sequestered. Those who did not first drive off the Indians were likely as not soon to be surprised and massacred. As the savages took no notice whether it was friends or foes, but only white men, so the miners adopted the savage warfare, fought the Indians in their own way, and had no confidence in any method that did not "clean them out." Men who were not willing to follow this course usual-

ly kept away from the mines. Illustrating the situation, it is stated that a party of miners from northern California chased certain Indians upon the Port Orford Reservation, and demanded of Captain Smith that they be surrendered to them; which was properly refused, until a requisition from the sheriff was sent for and produced. On another occasion—in 1855—a man named Buford was shot and wounded by an Indian; who was arrested and under escort of Ben. Wright, United States Indian agent, for trial. But as Wright and his party were passing in a boat along the river, Buford appeared on the bank, with other miners, and fired upon the Indian, killing him and another by his side. To this flagrant violation of authority Wright very properly ordered his men to return the fire, which they did, killing two, and mortally wounding another, of the miners.

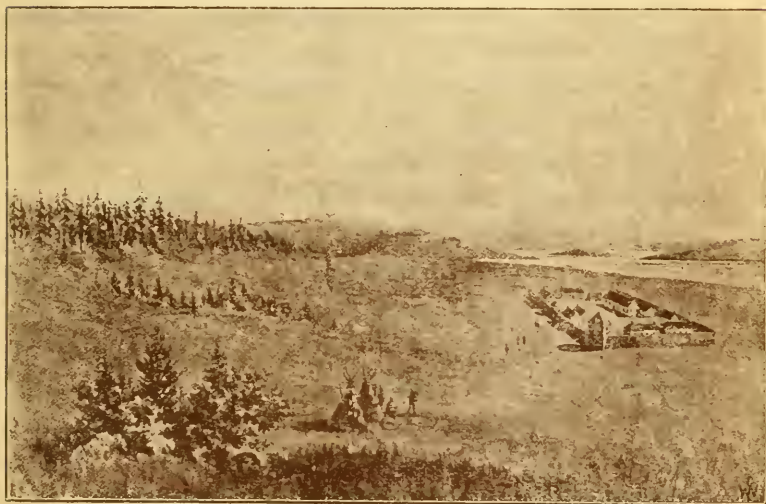
But in view of the savage conditions, in which it was almost impossible to distinguish who were the aggressors, the policy of Wool was the worst possible. It made the miners, on one hand feel that they were left to protect themselves, and that they would kill an Indian whenever they got the “drop” on him; and it gave the Indians the impression that they were under the protection of the soldiers, and that they could kill the miners with impunity. Wool’s policy was simply that of the Kilkenny cats—let them fight until both were used up.

It was evident that a certain sort of co-operation was under way with the Indians of the entire North-



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Portrait of General Grant as he appeared while serving as Brevet Second Lieutenant, Fourth Infantry, a few years prior to his appointment at Fort Vancouver.



FORT VANCOUVER IN 1833

west. In the early part of the year 1855 occurred the massacre of the Ward party, near Fort Boise, comprising twenty-one persons, nearly all of whom were killed. The massacre was accompanied with peculiar atrocities; all the deviltry of the savage nature seeming to suddenly break out after its first repression by contact with civilization. Raines and Geo. Wright, of the Regulars, were sent to punish the murderers, and complained of lawless whites instigating the Indians. These have since been regarded as emissaries of the Mormons. In November of 1854, John W. Davis having resigned his office, Curry was appointed governor, by Pres. Pierce; Curry being a Democrat. Indian Commissioner Palmer made a tour in the autumn among the Indians of Southern Oregon, and the Coast, confirming the treaties negotiated by Dart; the Government at Washington having dallied until this time without confirming the agreements. After the Walla Walla Council—in the spring of '55—Palmer returned down the Columbia, and negotiated a treaty with the Wascos and Des Chutes, giving them a large reservation east of Mt. Jefferson, on the Matolius; known now as the Warm Springs Reservation.

In the summer of 1855 Indian outbreaks in southern Oregon again occurred. Miners were killed; the death of one on Indian Creek being especially charged to Indians. It will be impossible to follow even the general outlines of these sad affairs. It was soon evident that it was not a merely local disturb-

ance. The settlers, and as it afterward proved, the United States soldiers, as well as the miners, were the objects of the Indians' secret attacks. Companies of volunteers, under H. B. Hayes, reported to Ross and Smith of the regulars; J. A. Lupton organized a force and attacked an Indian camp, October 8th, twenty-three of the natives being killed; many of whom, it is said, were old men, women and children. On the 9th occurred a general massacre of whites—having evidently been planned some time before, and only hastened, if at all referable, to Lupton's exploit. The details were something as follows:*

Two whites were killed without warning at Jewett's Ferry, and the house burned; Isaac Shelton, of the Willamette Valley, traveling to Yreka, was waylaid and killed. Passing on to Jones's house, the Indians killed Jones and mortally wounded his wife. Proceeding to Wagoner's, killing four men on the way, they found Mrs. Wagoner alone with a four-year-old child; both of whom they burned with the house. At Geo. Harris's they killed Harris himself, but his wife and young daughter defended themselves until rescued by the United States troops under Fitzgerald. Thus was opened a period of general war, in which it seemed impossible to repose trust in any of the natives. Captain Smith sent a detachment of twenty-five men, who checked the Indians so that they dispersed in the mountains, but were ready to reappear

* It has been stated by Capt. Thomas Smith, of Ashland, "the war began with horse-stealing by the Indians."

at any time. Kautz fought a considerable band on the Lower Umpqua, October 12th. Ross organized a volunteer force. The regulars under Pickett and Smith, thirty-five in number, fought an obstinate battle on the Rogue River near Galice Creek, one-third of them being wounded; the Indians were repulsed, but only after firing 2,500 shots, as estimated. On the 28th was fought a bloody battle by two hundred and fifty volunteers under Bruce and Rinearson; and one hundred and five regulars. The Indian warfare was to strike at unexpected places, fight until closely pressed, then disperse and compel the troops to divide into small parties, when another attack would be made. The country greatly favored these operations. It became evident that the only way to end the war would be by placing a force in the field large enough to guard the roads and settlements, and at the same time pursue the hostiles to their fastnesses. A call was therefore made by Governor Curry to form two battalions, one to operate in the Rogue River, the others in the Umpqua, and settle down to a regular war. In November the hostiles were found in their stronghold at the Meadows, on the lower Rogue River, but could not be forced out by the volunteer force then at hand.

Almost all sympathy or regard for the Indians was lost soon after by the treacherous murder by Indians supposed to be friendly, of Ben. Wright. He and Captain Smith, and Palmer, had been especially solicitous that the friendlies should not be molested.

These were hurriedly gathered on the reservation at Port Orford, and ordered to respond to roll call every day; and assurance given that they would not be harmed so long as they reported. A small garrison was kept, insufficient to fight the Indians, but enough to protect them. While a social party was held one evening at a point called Whaleshead, and the most of the soldiers attending it, an Indian whom Wright had trusted said that a bad man, a half-breed named Enos, was in the Indian camp, and should be arrested. On the way to perform this duty Wright was treacherously killed; and the same night a general massacre along the coast of about thirty whites was perpetrated. A considerable number of those engaged in this fresh outbreak were the friendlies—as had been supposed.

While this serious situation in Southern Oregon was thus growing worse and verging toward a war of extermination, as the year 1855 went out, a still more formidable war was going on in Washington, covering the entire territory, and involving the Eastern Oregon tribes. Defense of both districts fell mostly upon the people of Oregon. The regulars were wholly insufficient in either place; and what made the matter infinitely worse, General Wool, commanding the department of the Pacific, refused to increase the force, and himself left the district after a short tour of inspection at Vancouver and Steilacoom; and even ordered his subordinates, Casey, Steptoe, George Wright, and others, not to co-oper-

ate with the Oregon and Washington Volunteers. He even ordered the commandant at Vancouver to refuse arms to volunteers. He was strongly prepossessed with the idea that the whites were the aggressors, and if they did not wish to be hurt let them keep out of the Indian country. He is said to have had a personal grudge to settle with Governor Stevens, but it is evident that his policy was from larger considerations and prejudices. He held the sectional view that the country east of the Cascade Mountains was worthless for settlement, and that the entire tract should be left to the aborigines. He was willing to accede to the demand of the Yakimas and other disaffected upper country tribes, that the whole country was theirs, and whites trespassing should be put off. We seem to see here some trace of Jefferson Davis's hostility to development of the North; and the old idea that had haunted the advance of the Americans westward, that there should be an immense territory left as an Indian country, where they might live and still pursue their savage life, reappeared as after the Revolutionary War, and the war of 1812. But the preserve this time was to be the valley of the Columbia. To this policy of Wool's Stevens detected a contributing influence in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were reaching for the trade of the mining regions of British Columbia. We might not believe that the commander of the United States forces on the Pacific entertained any such conception if he had not himself expressed it. But by his special or-

der to Steptoe—after the war had progressed a year—none but missionaries and the Hudson's Bay people were to be allowed in the upper country. To Wright, Wool wrote, about the same time, "Warned by what has occurred the General trusts that you will be on your guard against whites, and prevent further trouble by keeping the whites out of the Indian country." To Steptoe he wrote again, "The Cascade Range formed, if not an impassable barrier, an excellent line of defense, a most valuable wall of separation between two races always at war when in contact. To permit settlers to pass the Dalles and occupy the natural reserve is to give up this advantage, throw down this wall, and advance the frontier hundreds of miles to the east, and add to the protective labors of the army."

Such obsolete ideas as are here expressed can now be hardly intelligently conceived. From the Cascade Mountains eastward—probably to the Missouri—or Minnesota—was "a natural reserve"; it belonged to a race separate from our own; it was "Indian country"; the region bordering on this was "the frontier." Here settlement should stop, and the protective labors of the army should halt at "this natural frontier." So far as appears from the orders, the Hudson's Bay Company, and a non-settling class of missionaries only should penetrate the Indian country. It was thus with this old conception of Indian rights, and that the Indian country was not American territory, that the people of Oregon had to



SPOKANE GARRY,
Head Chief of the Spokaues.

Reproduced from "Life of General Isaac I. Stevens." This engraving follows an original drawing made by Gustave Sohon, a soldier who accompanied General Stevens on his treaty making trips.



contend when the Yakima war broke out. That it should appear at the headquarters, and in the person, of the commander of the United States forces, was certainly not the least embarrassing feature of the situation. The Oregon people had to conduct the war, and carry through a rational conception of both Indian and white men's rights; and advance the historical evolution hitherto, that North America was for the industrial advancement of the human race; in it the Indian was to have his share, but was not to be enabled to close the movement of the age. It would be an interesting psychological study to account for the failure of the military man to perceive a truth which was so easily apprehended by the commonest Oregon pioneer. Upon the rational, yet generally humane, sentiment of the Oregon people Governor Stevens, who bitterly antagonized Wool, was obliged to rely.

The outbreak of the Yakimas was begun by an act of treachery. Gold had been discovered in the Colville district, and some mining was done in 1854. In the summer of 1855 the Colvilles and Spokanes refused to concede that the whites should pass the Spokane River. To settle this dispute, A. J. Bolon, of the Yakima Reservation, set out in September, and met Garry, the head chief of the Spokanes. By this chief he was informed, and that probably correctly, that some whites passing from the Sound to the mining country had been killed by the Yakimas. With a view to investigate this and bring his Indians

to a full understanding of the treaty they had so recently signed, he at once turned about, and proceeded alone, to show his confidence, toward the Atahnum, the home of Kamiakin. On the way he was met by the son of Owhi-Kamiakin's half brother, who offered to travel with him. By this youth he was, at an opportune moment, shot in the back and killed; and likewise his horse; and the bodies of both burned. This was learned from Kamiakin himself by a Wasco spy; and also that war was to be begun at once against all whites.

The events that followed can scarcely be passed here even in review. By Raines, commander of the United States forces at The Dalles, Haller was ordered to proceed into the Yakima country and occupy a position at Atahnum, while a force under Slaughter should proceed through Natchess Pass, to co-operate. Before passing the Simcoe Mountain, Haller, having a force of but eighty-four men, and desiring rather to treat than to fight, was attacked by the Yakimas without formal declaration of war, the presence of troops in their country being sufficient offense, and after several severe skirmishes, was compelled to fall back to the Dalles. He was saved from massacre only by assistance from Raines. His loss was five killed and seventeen wounded. The force advancing by way of the Natchess Pass was also compelled to fall back to Fort Steilacoom. The Indians were estimated to number from one to two thousand fighting men. Seeing that his force was wholly unable to meet the In-

dians Major Raines at The Dalles, called upon the Governors of Oregon and Washington, to furnish volunteers, asking of acting Governor Mason two companies, and of Curry four. The latter feeling the gravity of the situation called for eight. J. W. Nesmith promptly responded, and with four companies reached The Dalles in time to co-operate with Raines in a campaign in the Yakima country. Col. M. A. Chinn, and Jas. K. Kelly, organizing the other companies as they were formed proceeded to The Dalles, and afterward to the Umatilla, building Fort Henrietta—so named for Haller's wife. Wool arriving in Oregon refused to admit the volunteers into the army service; and was bitterly criticised both by Dryer of the *Oregonian* and Bush of the *Statesman*; and it has been said by volunteers that his life was scarcely safe for the brief time he remained at The Dalles. Raines and Nesmith advanced into the Yakima country, had a skirmish with the Indians on the Yakima River, and pursued them into the upper valley, but here they suddenly dispersed, and escaped to the mountains with their stock.

Kelly, following Chinn, pushed on into the Umatilla country and on December 2d, moved to the Walla Walla. In a week's time he was fighting the running battle between the Walla Walla and the Touchet. This was begun by Pupumoxmox entering the camp with a flag of truce, and offering to treat. To this Kelly assented and proposed to buy cattle; and the Walla Walla chief, with a number of his young men,

offered to remain as hostages pending negotiations. But as the Indians on the front soon began to gather in force and to fight, Kelly demanded what this meant. Pupumoxmox replied that it was but a few young men; but as the fighting became general it was proposed to disarm the hostages. This they resisted and all were killed, the wealthy chief of the Walla Wallas with the others. The fight continued four days, being concluded on December 10th by the general retreat of the Indians. This proved a most important victory; not that it ended the war, or accomplished more than to disperse the enemy; but just at that juncture Governor Stevens, already having been informed by a desperate ride of a thousand miles by Cushman, a special messenger, of the Indian uprising, was now returning and was already in Lawyer's camp on the Clearwater. He had crossed the Rocky Mountains in the snow of winter, and on his arrival in the Walla Walla Valley the weather had become intensely cold. Except for Kelly's victory he would have been obliged to fight the combined Indian forces with but about sixty white men and Nez Perce allies—for Lawyer and most of the Nez Percés were still true. Wool's opposition to Stevens seems to have reached the point of animosity; for, so far from sending a force to meet and succor Stevens on his probable return, he countermanded an order for this purpose, and disbanded a company raised by acting Governor Mason.

Affairs in Western Washington were also in a most

deplorable condition. There had been surprises and murders in nearly all the settlements. In the valleys of White and Duwamish Rivers massacres of unusual atrocity had been committed; the settlers in some cases having been thrown into wells. Leschi, the half Yakima, of the Nisquallies, was the leader. But so far from the Cascade Mountains being a "natural barrier" to the Yakimas and Klikitats, they swarmed through their passes or over the ridges wherever they chose. It was fully understood by Kamiakin that to draw the troops away from his own country he should strike a blow in the white settlements. Seattle itself was attacked and some of the people were killed at their doors, and all were compelled to retire into an inclosure built on the point. This also might have been captured and the place wiped out, but for the presence of the "Decatur" of the United States Navy. From this vessel, anchored in the bay, shells were thrown into the Indian camp, which, exploding, caused not only some destruction but required that the Tomaniwus men stop and make medicine. With guns that "spoke once" they had become acquainted; but with those that "spoke twice"—as the bomb exploded at a distance from the gun—they were unfamiliar, and must find out from the Tomaniwus what this meant. Bodies of northern Indians from British Columbia also made their appearance, who committed depredations along the shores. In the latter part of March, 1856, a most determined attempt was made to gain control of the Cascade's portage on the Co-

lumbia and to thus break the line of communications. This appears not to have been considered possible by the regulars, and the point* was left almost defenseless, and but a small garrison at Vancouver. The disposition of the Indians was thus perfectly clear, not only to hold the country east of the Cascade Mountains closed to settlement, but also to wipe out, if possible, the settlements of the Sound and lower Columbia. If all that Wool wished to grant them had been allowed, the Willamette Valley itself would have been subject to their inroads; and the friendly Nez Perces would have been exterminated, or speedily won over through disaffected chiefs of their own to the "Indian country" idea.

During 1856 the war wore on with increasing differences of the Governors of the two territories, supported by the volunteers, and the military authorities acting under the orders of Wool from San Francisco. The two Governors were in perfect accord, and Curry lent Stevens great assistance not only in supporting an Oregon army in the Territory of Washington, and in encouraging Oregon men to enlist among the Washington volunteers, but also in assisting in purchase of supplies for the Washington troops. These were better commissaried than his own. Indeed, the Oregon Volunteers were forced much of the time to subsist upon Indian ponies captured from the enemy.

* It was here that Lieut. P. H. Sheridan, arriving from Vancouver, showed soldierly qualities.



BLOCK HOUSE, UPPER CASCADES, COLUMBIA RIVER



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

Portrait of Gen. Sheridan as he appeared while serving as Brevet-Second Lieutenant, First Infantry, and two years prior to his appointment at Fort Vancouver.

Stevens believed that the seat of war should be confined to the Yakima country, and organized two companies of volunteers for an aggressive campaign. But owing to lack of harmony with the army officers, and the incursions of the Klikitats, the attack on Seattle, renewed massacres of settlers, some of whom were murdered in their homes or on their way to attend church services, and the attack on the Cascades, he was forced to spend the season until late summer in clearing the Sound Basin. Twenty-one companies were raised, numbering not quite a thousand men, and were placed under Van Bokkelen and B. F. Shaw. The Snoqualmie chief, Patkanim, was also commissioned as an ally, to be paid for returning the heads of hostiles taken in battle, and rendered important service. He proved entirely true throughout the war. After the massacre of settlers, February 24th, near Steilacoom, a decisive battle was fought, resulting in defeat of the Klikitats, at Connell's Prairie. The war then wore on in hunting the savages from cover to cover, until the friendlies were all segregated and placed on the west side of the Sound, or enlisted in the Territorial service; and the hostiles were killed or captured, or driven across the mountains. Leschi, the faithless half Yakima, who had broken the treaty and committed many murders, and was one of the chief instigators of the war, was captured, and finally, in 1858, in spite of the efforts of army officers and United States Court, was hanged.

In the upper country the campaign was devolved

chiefly on Wright. After the battle of four days in the Walla Walla, Kelly resigned to take his place in the Oregon Legislature. Thomas R. Cornelius was then chosen in his place as colonel of the Oregon Volunteers, and planned a campaign against Kamiakin in the Yakima. As soon as grass was green he crossed the Snake, proceeded to White Bluffs, chasing a few Palouses, and crossing the Columbia, marched down to the mouth of the Yakima, compelling, as he anticipated, the Yakimas to gather in force and concentrate along his front, until ready to give battle. This was done among the hills of the upper valley, where Kamiakin had a stronghold. This was charged and captured, and the hostiles, numbering many hundreds were dispersed in the upper valleys. But the victory was ineffective. It was beyond the power of the volunteers to remain and occupy the country with a military post, and no force at command could follow the hostiles to their retreats. Cornelius consequently moved to The Dalles, but with Indians dogging his march, and indeed stampeding his stock just opposite the fort. Here the most of the volunteers were mustered out, finding that it was impossible to hold the country which they could so easily penetrate, without the co-operation of the army, and the entire responsibility was turned over to Wright in the Yakima, with the regulars. He built Fort Simcoe, and acting under Wool's orders, practically granted all that Kamiakin had contended for. The treaty made at the Walla Walla council was ignored. No

arrests or punishments were to be made, and the wanton murder of Bolon was overlooked.

The volunteers performed some useful services in the early part of the season. In June, Layton captured thirty-four of the disaffected Wascos, Des Chutes and Cayuses on the John Day, and checked the sentiment for the hostiles in that quarter. B. F. Shaw won a sharply contended battle in the Grande Ronde, and greatly strengthened the position of Lawyer, whom a war party among the Nez Perces was seeking to undermine. In August, Stevens, believing that he might bring the war to a close, invited Wright to go with him to hold a council at Walla Walla. This Wright felt that he could not do, under Wool's instructions, but detailed Steptoe from The Dalles with a small force. Considerable numbers of the hostiles came to the council, but refused to treat except on their own conditions; which were that the whites should not enter their country; and even some of the Nez Perces headed by Looking Glass, the rival of Lawyer, demanded that the treaty of Walla Walla be revoked, and their country restored. Stevens was almost unattended, relying on Steptoe; but this officer, so far from affording him protection, when it became known that the hostiles meditated an attack as soon as Stevens left the council grounds, moved his camp away, compelling the Governor to follow. This was under Wool's instructions, that the regulars should not allow the Indians to believe that the volunteers and United States troops were co-operating.

But Steptoe was soon disillusioned as to the intent of the Indians. They burned his grass, compelling him to move camp for subsistence for his horses; and as he began the move commenced a running fight—Looking Glass participating. A rear guard battle was fought, Stevens and Steptoe retreating to The Dalles with little loss; but both under mortifying circumstances.

Wright then went to the Walla Walla and built the fort of that name near the site of the present city, but was commissioned rather to defend the Indians than the whites; his orders from Wool being that none but missionaries and Hudson Bay people be allowed in the country. Thus the year 1856 went out, all the upper country Indians believing that they had won their contention, and that the regulars were afraid of them, and that the volunteers had been driven off or recalled by the regulars. Kamiakin made his rounds freely among the tribes, circulating the most monstrous perversions of Stevens's intentions, and winning over the hitherto friendly Spokanes and Cœur d'Alenes, and doing all in his power to discredit Lawyer. During the next year—1857—the situation in the upper country remained the same, but two important changes were made in the Indian and army service. One was the union of the two superintendencies of Oregon and Washington in one; and the office of superintendent was given to J. W. Nesmith. The other was the appointment of Newman S. Clarke in place of Wool, as commander of the United States



PEO, CHIEF OF THE UMATILLAS

From a copyrighted photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.

forces on the Pacific slope. Clarke soon visited Fort Vancouver and conferred with Nesmith. The latter advised that the treaties of 1855, made by Stevens, be confirmed. He considered that the present situation was no more than a truce; the whites could not be kept permanently out of the upper country, and the Indians were only employing the interval in making preparations for future coalition. The only wise policy was to confine the tribes to reservations small enough to be respected by the whites, and guarded by the military and subsist the Indians until they learned the arts of husbandry on their own lands.

In 1858 the wisdom of this advice became apparent even to the army officers. During the summer of that year miners began again to enter the Colville district, as under the United States laws they had a perfect right to do. The condition of war was said to have ended, and civil law must be resumed. Reports that two murders had been committed were brought to army headquarters, and it was decided that Steptoe, in command at Walla Walla, should take a small command, lightly armed, and investigate the situation. But that the Indians were already planning to drive even the regulars from all the upper country was shown by a foray of the Palouses into the Walla Walla Valley, who captured some of the army stock. Kamiakin, even during the previous troubles, had become incensed at the regulars, and had said, "I will teach those fellows who Kamiakin is." It was evident that only a state of war could suffice to maintain

his influence among the tribes, who resented all authority whatever except under the pressure of necessity. After having cleared the country of miners and settlers and volunteers, the next requirement upon the chief would be to clear it of the regulars. The clemency—so-called—of the army was wholly misunderstood; and the conclusion drawn from Wool's instructions and terms, and that justly, by the Indians, was that no whites at all must occupy the upper Columbia country.

Steptoe had no intention of making a campaign, but rather a friendly reconnoissance. With about one hundred and sixty men he crossed the Snake early in May, guided by the Nez Perce Timothy. He had proceeded about to the place now occupied as the site of Colfax, when he was met by large bands of warlike Spokanes and Palouses, who demanded why he had come into their country. He declared that his object was peaceful, yet to inquire into the reported murders at Colville. They peremptorily refused him passage across the Spokane. He saw they intended to fight, and therefore prepared to return to the Snake. This the Indians determined not to allow, but to cut him off altogether. They pressed on his line of march, insulting the troops; until, finally falling in with a band of Cœur d'Alènes, the Palouses began fighting. With only small arms Steptoe could not make an effective defense, but attempted to gain a hill, since known as Steptoe's Butte, where he might defend himself. His company was moving in two

columns, between which the Cœur d'Alènes attempted to force a passage; but were repulsed, their chief Victor and many others being killed; by which their rage became unbounded. Reaching the hill the soldiers were besieged, and all but three of the officers were killed. This position was held all day, May 18th, and part of the night, though the men were suffering from thirst. By a path little known Timothy then led the forlorn company, who abandoned a howitzer and all but the most necessary arms, through the darkness to the Snake River; which was crossed the morning of the 19th, and from this place, meeting a band of Nez Perces who acted as rear guard, made the march safely to Walla Walla.

This attack upon the United States army, without provocation, and by tribes in part friendly, was too much to be borne. It was determined by Clarke, in council with the other officers, that a decisive campaign must be carried on, and the Indians must accept the treaty of 1855. Wright was therefore ordered to proceed to the Spokane with a strong force, well armed with long range rifles, and empowered to capture and punish all murderers. The details of this campaign need not be particularized. At Four Lakes the hostiles were encountered in force and easily beaten with considerable loss. They were then vigorously followed up, the murderers demanded, and when captured were summarily hanged. Ow-hi and his son Quelchin entered the camp expecting to be treated as during the first part of the war; but Quel-

chin—Bolon's murderer—was at once hanged, and Ow-hi, attempting an escape, was shot.

In the meantime Garnett, in command at Fort Simcoe, was passing through the Yakima country to co-operate with Wright, and to turn back any fugitives. Kamiakin, soon learning that he had no longer any sympathy in the army, and that his leading confederates were dead, fled to British Columbia. It is said that in later years he returned to the Yakima country; but unknown and wholly without influence.

It was thus seen that no policy except that of the Oregon people, and of Stevens, both of whom were entirely willing to give the native Indians a fair share in the lands and opportunities of the country, could bring a stable peace. It should be noticed that a large part, and perhaps a half, of all the Indians, were willing to accept this solution. Lawyer, carrying the most of his people, carried it through in good faith and with great ability, though at the imminent risk of losing his pre-eminence. To him, for saving Stevens from massacre at the Walla Walla council; and to Timothy, for safely guiding Steptoe from his perilous position, and preventing a merciless massacre, a debt that has not yet been adequately acknowledged is surely due. Indeed, at almost any time in the war, especially when Kelly was fighting the coalition, if the thousand Nez Perce fighters, well armed and notoriously brave, had suddenly fallen upon the volunteers the result could not have been but disastrous. Sticcus, of the Cayuses, and his band remained

friendly. Patkanim, Seattle, and nearly all the Indians west of the Sound in Washington, were not hostile, or acted as allies. This phase of the subject is worthy of much greater attention, but can be only mentioned. On examination it will probably be found that all the Indians who had had the opportunity to learn the numbers and power, and disposition of the Americans, either preferred peace, or believed war useless and destructive to their own people. It is only to be regretted that useful information could not have been disseminated in advance of, or coextensively with, settlement and occupation by the whites. The problem of civilization is not in the extermination of the less advanced races, but in their development under even better conditions than those under which the advanced races have won their pre-eminence.

The story of the war in Southern Oregon must now be completed in a few words. After the fresh outbreak signalized by the killing of Ben. Wright, the agent, at Whaleshead, and of settlers along the coast, a reorganization of the Volunteers was effected. This massacre alone illustrates that much of the Indian opposition was brought about by gross heathen ignorance. Those implicated declared that they were deceived by Enos and John, the leaders of the hostiles, who said that all the whites in the interior had been killed, and that if those on the coast were now destroyed the Indians would have the country again.

The southern battalion of Oregon Volunteers was

reënforced, and Kelsay, Chapman, Bruce and Latshaw were elected respectively colonel, lieutenant-colonel and majors. Co-operating with Lamerick they found the Indians in their stronghold at the Meadows, and dislodged them with heavy loss inflicted. The United States troops, under Smith and Augur, were occupied chiefly on the coast, and attempted to induce the Indians to go on the new reservation on the coast north of Coos Bay, embracing the Siletz. It was the object of the Volunteers to drive the hostiles over to the regulars. Within a month the Indians lost fifty warriors killed and more wounded, besides fat cattle on which they were subsisting.

Captain Smith called a council at which all the chiefs were present. George, Sam and Limpy agreed that further resistance was useless, and said they would go to the reservation; John, the most redoubtable, refused. It was finally agreed that all would meet Smith at two certain buttes, and lay down their arms. On the appointed day, Smith being present with a small force, the hostiles failed to appear. But word was brought by two Indian women that the Indians intended a massacre. Smith sent word to Augur for reënforcements, and occupied a defensive position. When the Indians came they called upon Smith to come out in person and take their arms. He directed that they lay them down in a certain place and enter his camp unarmed. This they refused and soon began hostilities. Smith held out more than a

day, although attacked by two hundred to four hundred savages, and suffering for water. Many of his men were wounded, and some killed. By the arrival of Augur the Indians were surprised, and easily routed; the soldiers losing twenty-nine, killed and wounded. John commanded in person, and his stentorian voice could be heard giving orders, even in the soldiers' camp.

In the meantime Joel Palmer, Indian commissioner, was convinced that only the removal of the Indians would end the war and save them from extermination; to such a pitch had popular feeling been wrought by the repeated acts of Indian treachery. He purchased, on the part of the Government, six thousand acres in the Grande Ronde, in Polk County for \$35,000; and began in January to bring some four hundred Umpquas and two hundred Calapooyasahs. The feelings of the Oregon people were so wrought upon that it was freely threatened that these should be killed on the way; but after thinking more calmly, no such strain upon the Oregon community was attempted, and the savages were settled with entire security. After the defeat of John by Smith and Augur, the remainder of the Indians were removed to various sites on the Siletz reservation. It is said that some four thousand were thus brought from southern Oregon. A very few were left, with whom the whites had some trouble the next year. But this practically terminated the Indian wars of that section, until the Modoc outbreak twenty years after.

The Klamaths and Modocs were settled east of the Cascade Mountains in 1864. The reservation system was the only solution in southern Oregon; as the Indians were not only utterly wild, and had no regard to civilized warfare, and employed treachery as a regular system; but the country was at that time a borderland between Oregon and California, and only too many wild white boys resorted thither. Not until its settlement by family life did it develop the highly moral and industrious and progressive society for which it is now so well known.

It will not be claimed that the policy of the United States Government was always wisely or consistently carried out; on the contrary there was continual dilatoriness; sleepy officers at Washington pigeon-holed and forgot the business, while the Indians who had reposed implicit confidence in the word of the Great Father were left without their annuities; or, as in the case of the Warm Springs, were exposed to the raids of the hostile Snakes who ran off their horses and cattle and pillaged their houses. In some instances, as in the case of Joseph, of the Wallowa Valley, a verbal agreement seems to have been made which was never reported to Washington, or if so, was lost in the rubbish, and this chief, son of the old Joseph who treated with Stevens, determined to fight for his country, although well knowing that it was a useless struggle. Still worse, it was almost the rule that the Indian agents and trader expected a large share of the goods furnished the treaty Indians. In-



CHIEF JOSEPH THE YOUNGER
(Nez Perces.)

dian service was regarded as a rich share of the public plunder. Not until President Grant, soon after his first inauguration in 1869, determined to place the Indians under the instruction of the various religious denominations, inaugurating what was known as "the Quaker policy," did the benefits of the reservation system appear. Then Spalding and Miss Macbeth could undertake their labors among the Nez Perces; Father Wilbur could perform his most effective work among the Yakimas; Captain Smith could become a missionary and agricultural teacher at the Warm Springs; Edwin and Myron Eells, sons of Cushing Eells, could undertake a permanent and valuable work among the Indians of Puget Sound; and the Fathers of the Catholic Church, among the Spokanes and Cayuses, could pursue their instructions without fear of collisions between their pupils and the eager miner and stockraiser. The policy soon after inaugurated, that of President Hayes, of establishing Indian training schools, was a natural step in advance, and has been greatly appreciated by the younger generation of Indians; many of whom have thus acquired a good modern English education, have become mechanics and business men, and have, on the whole, developed about an equal ability with other American youths. Allotment of lands in severalty has not been an unmixed blessing, and has been accomplished rather too precipitately; but this was the next step and the final result has been that the Indian population, entirely native, or mixed, has largely be-

come, as stated by Simon Pokagon, a late chief of the Pottawottamies of Michigan, no longer Indian, but American. If all those tracing their ancestry to the native American stock could now be segregated and enumerated in the United States, the number would undoubtedly be surprising. A recent examination has shown that there are more than four hundred persons now living owing their descent in part to one tribe of the Columbia River Indians—the Chinooks. The American solution of the Indian problem does not necessarily contemplate the amalgamation of the races; but to offer to all races the opportunities of American citizenship, allowing each to work out his individual destiny as his own choice, abilities and character may determine.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRIAL BY FIRE

THE Indian wars left the people of Oregon, as all such struggles do, personally more or less embittered, and publicly very much in debt. At least seven hundred white persons in Oregon alone had fallen victims to the hostile Indians, mostly by massacre. A debt of six million dollars had been contracted, which it was not certain that the United States would assume. Twenty-five hundred men had been under arms the most of one year, and agriculture and industry had suffered in consequence. But still more disappointingly, the Oregon volunteers and settlers in general had been maligned by the General of the department, and his representations had been copied in papers throughout the whole Union. They were represented as Indian scalpers, ravishers of women, and enterprising schemers for public money. These exaggerations were bitterly resented, and to this day may be seen the animosity between the "eastern" and "western" man in his idea of an Indian.

But this trouble was not well over, nor the way opened for the "Pacific Railroad," before the vast national question of the continuance of the Union itself began to press upon the people. The Oregonians were particularly the common people. The men of great wealth, as well as the poverty-stricken poor, were excluded. The plain middle class, with very common conceptions of life, and modest ambitions, were those selected as pioneers. Politically they

were nearly all Democrats. They were disciples of Jefferson and Jackson, and felt to every nerve the sentiment that "I am just as good as you." Taking this as the significance of the term "Democrat," they clung through thick and thin to the party, hardly questioning their leaders. Joseph Lane was elected again and again as delegate, and Curry, after his appointment in 1854, was continued as Territorial Governor until statehood. The Federal judges, Deady, Williams, Nesmith and Olney were all Democrats. Nesmith, the Indian Superintendent, was a Democrat. Asahel Bush, editor of the *Statesman*, and R. P. Boise, a leading attorney and judge, and many others at the Territorial capital, were of the same party. Thomas J. Dryer, editor of the *Portland Oregonian*, and W. L. Adams, of the *Argus*, at Oregon City, were among the very few who made the exception; these advocated vigorously, and often bitterly, the Whig principles; and later the doctrines of the Republican party.

It is not intended here to notice the fortunes of the political parties, which were ephemeral, changing from day to day; but in what way the subject of the National integrity, in the consciousness of which the Oregon country had been explored and settled and brought as a Territory into the Union, was now regarded by this little section of American common people, separated by four thousand long miles from their capital, and harassed by prolonged local trou-

bles, and lack of accord with the national authorities.

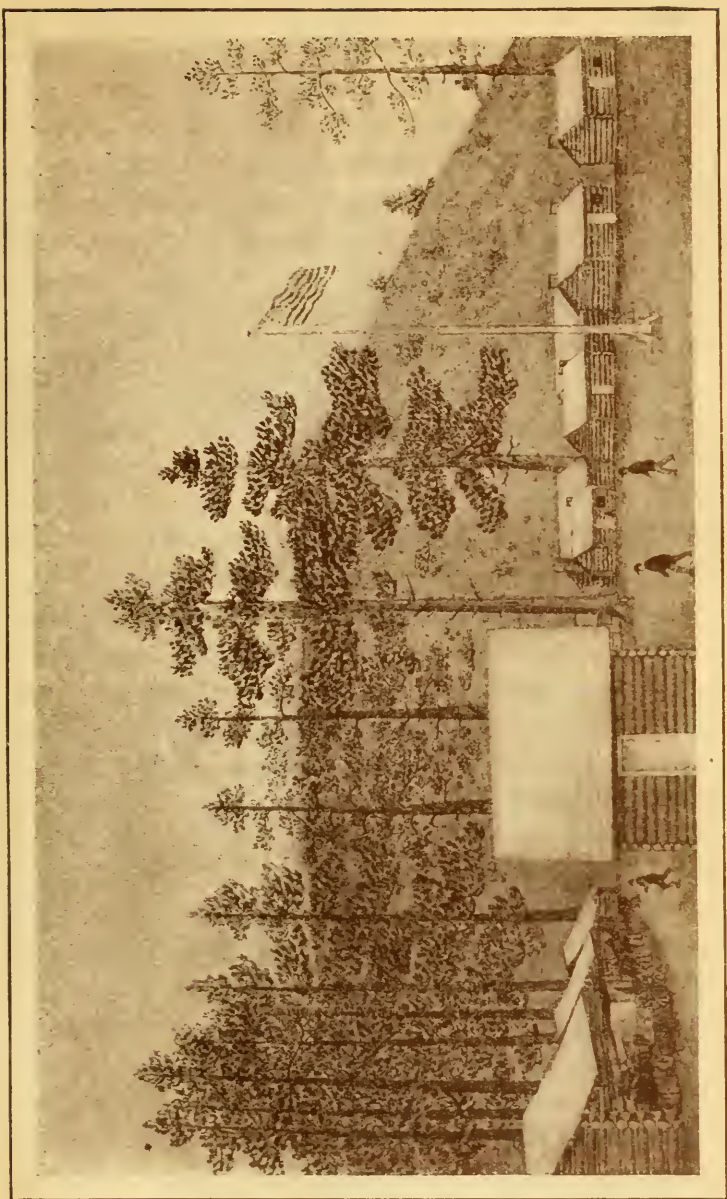
As now seen, it may be repeated, the contest between the free and the slave States was based primarily upon economic principles. Slavery belonged with a military type of society. It ignored the accretions of power in the mechanical world gained by science, and would still base the industry of mankind upon human muscle; not upon human intelligence and the forces of nature placed by science and invention at the disposal of man. It was a passing phase of social evolution, but had taken root very vigorously upon the soil of America, owing to the primitive conditions into which pioneer life on this continent had in the first instance been thrust. It rose and expanded and reached its maximum with a rapidity and energy that was in inverse proportion to its term. The common people, both North and South, had, even before the settlement of Oregon, learned to distrust the system, and to hate the slave. Long before they dared to antagonize the master they desired to escape the system, and were willing even to destroy the servile class. The Oregon people possessed all the instinctive sentiments, and shared all the prejudices of their order—the American common people. As already seen, they refused to allow slavery in their Territorial constitution, and going to California impressed the same feature upon the constitution of that State.

The question now arose whether, with their politi-

cal training, their isolation, and their natural sympathies with the section from which the most of them had come, they would grasp the national situation intelligently and quickly enough to take any part in the closing drama of the long conflict. The universal physical emancipation of the laborer, proceeding almost by equal step with the introduction of natural power and use of steam, was the social phenomenon of the Nineteenth Century.

It was not a simple problem to connect this distinctively economic phenomenon with the idea of Nationality, and to see that in the continued ascendancy of the National power lay the security for an orderly and progressive economic development. The great majority of the educated and cultured people of the Eastern, as well as the Southern, States, failed to grasp this point until it was brought forcibly upon them.

The free territory movement took form in Oregon as elsewhere in the United States; showing that the national life coursed in the veins of Oregonians as among the rest of the Americans. In May of 1856, it is stated, a meeting was held in Lindley school house, of Eden District, Jackson County, at which a resolution was passed, declaring it the belief of the meeting, that "Freedom was national; slavery, sectional": Congress could not change the institutions in the existing States, but could prevent the introduction of slavery into the Territories. This was one of the earliest expressions of the party soon



CAMP WATSON IN 1865

After an original drawing.

after arising with the name Republican, revived from the days of Jefferson. This was a perfectly clear and intelligent expression of the idea forming in the minds of the American people that with the national life was bound up the security of free labor and free people. This, it should be remembered, was while the Government was still under the Democratic administration, and the Democratic party had not yet divided on the question of the extension of slavery. A decision rendered by Judge Williams, of the Second Oregon District, giving his liberty to a colored man and his family, whom it was attempted to hold in this Territory as slaves, traversed something the same ground. He held that without some positive legislative enactment establishing slavery in Oregon, it could not exist here. The tenor of this decision, therefore, was that this Territory was naturally free, and the right obtained by the citizen of a slave State to hold human property could not be carried into it except by legislation. The decision applied only to Oregon. The Lindley schoolhouse resolution would carry the same reasoning to apply to all Territories. United States territory was naturally free: the National authority, therefore, to their mind, was an authority identified with and causing freedom. Slavery was only an institution of law, could exist only by act or statute, and belonged to a section, and not to the Nation. The natural conclusion, thus, of this conception, was to identify all the Territories, including Oregon, with the Nation. It was a declara-

tion that Oregon belonged with the Nation, and not with any one section of the Nation.

Other free State meetings were held; one at Silverton, in Marion County, soon following that in Jackson County; and in August a convention to form a Republican party was held at Albany. At this it was resolved, with somewhat sophomoric humor, to "fling our banner to the breeze, inscribed, 'Free Speech, Free Labor, a Free Press, and Fremont.' "

The question of statehood was also receiving attention, and in June of 1856 it was voted by over seven thousand votes, in a poll of less than ten thousand, to form a State constitution. Oregon now possessed over fifty thousand population. With this strong vote the question of free or slave State came at once to the surface. The Republicans, still a very weak people in Oregon, certainly favored a free State. But only one Democrat is mentioned as publicly opposing slavery at that time. This was Judge Williams. In an extended article in the *Salem Statesman* of July 28, 1857, he argued against slavery as inexpedient in Oregon, and not adapted to our system of labor. The constitutional convention met August 17, A. L. Lovejoy being elected temporary, and M. P. Deady, permanent, chairman. The question of slavery promised to be so disquieting that it was moved by Jesse Applegate, the natural pacificator, that it should not be discussed. The motion did not prevail; the question was freely discussed, but was settled in the Democratic way—by referring it to the

people. This was not simply to shirk a difficult decision, but because the Democratic leaders felt confidence in the wisdom of the voters. With this was coupled also the question of admitting free negroes, to be likewise referred to the electors.

The result of the election was favorable to the constitution. It was adopted as prepared, by a majority of three thousand nine hundred and eighty, in a poll of ten thousand four hundred. Slavery was defeated by the overwhelming majority of five thousand and eighty-two. Dislike of the negro, as well as of slavery, was indicated even more positively: exclusion prevailing by a majority of seven thousand five hundred and fifty-nine. The clause was practically a dead letter; and has been legally so since the adoption of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments. That the clause ever existed in the constitution has now been forgotten, except upon special mention. A similar dislike was shown in certain disabilities on the Chinaman. These provisions have usually been referred to race prejudice; but it is beginning to be recognized that the State and Nation may profitably qualify the character of persons to be admitted to privileges of residence and citizenship; questions of economics being involved.

The decision of the people of Oregon, though mostly belonging to the party that nationally favored a sectional institution, and although for some time industriously instructed by pro-slavery advocates, definitely and overwhelmingly rejected the in-

stitution identified with sectional policies and ideas. It should be stated that General Lane was on the side of slavery, and was still the idol of the people. He was still delegate to Congress, and it was an open secret that he was aspiring to the first place on the Democratic ticket for President of the United States. But even this strong personal influence of a magnetic leader, who was capable of lofty ambition, and whose rise would be felt by every Oregonian as an immeasurable personal and State compliment, did not win the Oregon people over to identifying themselves with a sectional institution.

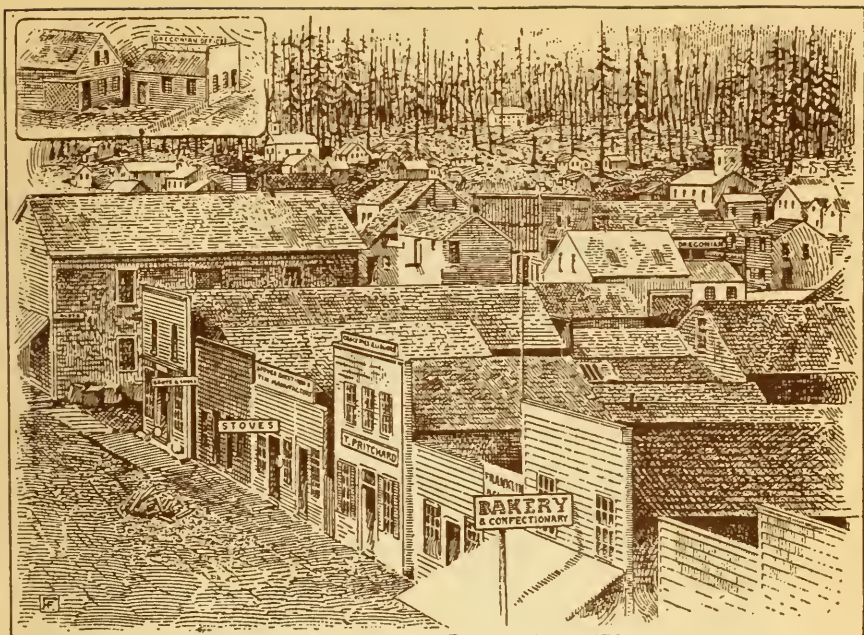
This disaccordance between Lane and the Oregon people already foreshadowed the division soon to arise in the Democratic party. The great majority of Oregonians had by this very act placed themselves on the ground afterward taken by Douglas. If slavery was sectional, then the people of the Territories should determine whether it be admitted. But to the South this was only less obnoxious than the Republican doctrine that it should not exist in the Territories. This was not clearly seen as yet, but in 1858 the division appeared in Oregon; there were two Democratic tickets, the "Oregon Democrats" and the "National Democrats." But the Republicans were still too weak to profit by this division of their opponents. In anticipation that the Territory, might now be admitted, a Congressman was elected, Lafayette Grover, a man of ability and high character; and two Senators were chosen by the Legis-

lature. These were Delazon Smith, and, as was to be expected, Joseph Lane. Lane drew the long term, and consequently was to hold office until 1861.

At this point a singular hesitancy and even confusion of opinion on the part of the leading men began to appear. Lane, at Washington, did not seem to press the admission of Oregon as expected. He also seemed dilatory about securing recognition of the Oregon war debt. Governor Curry, still Territorial incumbent, pending the assumption of office of John Whiteaker elected in anticipation of the admission as a State, convoked the Assembly, but pronounced the singular doctrine that Oregon, by adopting a constitution, had already become a State, without action of the United States Government. The logical conclusion of his expressions would be that Oregon was a State, yet not in the Union. This illustrates the confusion of the times, which affected many minds; many among the Republican leaders soon after showing even greater loss. The calmness and clearness of the common people was very marked in contrast with the eccentric movement of many of the most trusted leaders.

Nevertheless, whatever may have been the solution of the action of the governor and the delegate of Oregon, it was at length decided to proceed with the regular form of admission of Oregon, and February 14, 1859, the bill passed the Congress. Lane and Smith took their places in the Senate, and Grover in the House.

The tendency of affairs and the position of the leading Democrats was not known until the eventful year of 1860. It is popularly understood that it was the Republican party that rescued the national standard. This was but partially so. It was not so much the Republican nomination of Lincoln, but even more the division of the National Democratic Convention, that aligned the people on the question of union. Douglas carried the true Democratic party to his position. This could not be borne by the sectional Democracy of the South, and at Charleston they placed a ticket in the field which made the election of Douglas impossible, and that of Lincoln certain. On the Charleston ticket appeared the name of Lane as Vice-president. It was hoped that this would insure the Pacific Coast for Breckenridge. But how little personal merit or influence avails when brought into conflict with a great popular sentiment, was made apparent at the election. In Oregon the Democratic State Central Committee hastened to indorse Breckenridge and Lane as the nominees of their party. This was resented by the great mass of the Democrats of the State. A general meeting of all the Democrats was called, and Stephen A. Douglas was declared the nominee to be supported. Besides Williams, J. W. Nesmith had already publicly opposed the election of Shiel, who favored the Southern Democracy, for Congressman. Nesmith and Williams and the great body of the Oregon Democrats earnestly favored the Douglas ticket. The



EARLY VIEWS OF PORTLAND, OREGON

The upper engraving is from a photograph made in 1854, and the lower one from a photograph made in 1852.

most influential speaker on the Republican side was E. D. Baker; who had arrived in Oregon from California in 1859. He was originally from Illinois, where he had been a leading politician, and had served also in the Mexican War. Later he became interested in some Panama scheme, but falling ill on the isthmus came in 1853 to California. In that State he became deeply engrossed in politics, but was unsuccessful in his aspirations for election as United States Senator. It was generally understood that he hoped to succeed in Oregon to his ambition.

This alignment of the Oregon people sufficiently illustrates their understanding of national politics. The greater part of the Democrats of the State turned instantly from their old leadership, and occupied their historic ground. They identified themselves with the National Idea, and that as quickly and intelligently as in any part of the Union. The vote for Lincoln and Douglas combined was almost two to one against Breckenridge. Lincoln carried the State by nearly three hundred plurality; and the loyal Democrats and Republicans formed what was popularly known as the Union party.

In the meantime, as the Republican and Douglas Democrat party in Oregon had occupied almost identically the same ground, it was agreed to divide the senatorial honors, with the result that Nesmith and Baker were elected to succeed Smith—or to fill the unfilled vacancy left by him—and General Lane. Lane returned to Oregon, and although personally

his name remains untarnished, and this State will always hold in grateful memory his long and brave services, he was retired from political leadership. To no people more than to the Oregonians did the inaugural address of Lincoln appeal. "The mystic chords of memory, from every battlefield and patriot grave" were found to extend even to the hearths and homes of the Oregon pioneers, and to swell the chorus of the Union all the way from San Juan on the north to San Diego on the south. The scheme proposed for a Pacific republic, with peon labor from South America and Asia, was consigned to infamy and its promoters to political exile.

The succeeding years have only proved how well the common people of Oregon decided. Under one flag and one great authority "no war nor battle sound" from European intrigue has been heard for a generation in North America. An industrial era, not free indeed from its own great and perplexing problems, but still grand and, on the whole, benevolent, has withdrawn the great interests from the "thousand wars of old." The thousand years of peace may not yet be inaugurated, and human rights in the midst of human labor and human suffering are still to be defined and guarded; but none is now unconscious of the favorable outlook in this regard under a stable union of the American States.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AGE OF STEAM

THE first necessity of industry is facility for exchange. Exchange, without which production ceases for lack of incentive the moment that the most rudimentary personal wants are supplied, is highly altruistic in its nature, offering benefits to both parties concerned, and is the foundation of wealth. But, as a matter of course, exchange requires transportation, and industry on a large scale requires transportation on a large scale. It was perceived even from early times in the United States that the industries of the North were of a national character, and hence the persistence of the protective system of taxation, or tariffs; which, since the separation from England have been sustained with varying degrees of acuteness or obliquity by all the great parties. The tariff in its aggressive features has been the especial concern of the Whig and the Republican parties; as has been a National currency system. By those favoring these measures in their positive form, as the necessities of national industry, the idea of transportation as a National concern, was naturally first and most strongly entertained. It was quite naturally doubted in the earlier times, whether the general government had any constitutional right to promote transportation by any direct legislation, and the first large enterprises were undertaken under State charters; the Erie Canal and the Illinois Central Railroad being examples.

By Senator Benton, however, in 1849, after considerable private agitation and memorials sent to Congress, especially by Asa Whitney, a bill was introduced in Congress, February 7, 1849, to grant a national charter to a Pacific railroad. It was then manifest that railroad construction would cease to be a matter of a few miles of all kinds of roads under all kinds of management, by local companies in the several States. The first actual land grant to a railroad is said to have been made to the Mobile and Ohio, a line to connect the mouth of the Ohio with Mobile Bay, and hence of great interest to the Gulf States. This was a million acres. The next was a land grant of two million five hundred and ninety-five thousand acres, to the State of Illinois, which was intended for, and by the State transferred to, the Illinois Central. These it will be observed were under the Whig administration of Taylor and Fillmore. In March, 1853, however, the bill was passed, already referred to, authorizing the survey of three lines, a northern, middle and southern, from the Mississippi, or Missouri, to the Pacific. The work was to be done under the supervision of the Secretary of War, who was Jefferson Davis; and the survey of the Northern Pacific was made by I. I. Stevens, then a conspicuous Democrat. The policy of fostering national transportation by means of federal aid and encouragement was therefore not confined to either Whigs or Democrats, and the principal difference between the

parties was as to which should perform the work; the methods and designs of each party, being naturally a matter of criticism and recrimination to the other, but the policy itself being national and not partisan.

On account of the sectional strife, as noticed in a preceding chapter, construction of the Pacific railway was held in abeyance, and not until a Republican administration came into power was it possible to agree upon a route. In July, 1862, however, even while the great sectional war was in its earlier stages, a bill was passed Congress chartering and subsidizing the line to be constructed by the middle route—afterward built by the Union and the Central Pacific Companies. This was again enacted in July, 1864, before the war closed, but when it was felt certain that the Union would not be divided. This bill reflects the changed times, and shows that it was drawn when the public mind had become familiar with operations involving movements of armies of men and of money by the millions. There was nothing small about it. Provision was made for a cash subsidy of sixteen thousand dollars per mile on the sections of level road—from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, and a small stretch west of the Sierra Nevada Range—and forty-eight thousand per mile for the mountain section, in bonds guaranteed by the United States. There was also a land subsidy of some twenty-five million acres, being the alternate sections ten miles each side of the line of the road.

As to the results of these munificent grants, it may very truthfully be said that all the benefits prophesied by the Republican party which made the grants; and all the evils prophesied by Democratic critics, have been more than realized. It was an immense governmental undertaking, and like tariff and money legislation has committed the Federal Government to the theory that industries are to be aided and controlled by positive national legislation. To what point past legislation in this line will compel the Government to go in the future in controlling in the public interest the vast industrial bodies created, is the main problem now confronting the people of the nation. Work on the Union Pacific was begun in 1863; May 12, 1869, the last spike was driven, and trains from Omaha and San Francisco met in the Rocky Mountains. The Atlantic and Pacific were united by rail. This was a National work, and was one of the very first fruits of the maintenance of the Union. Three jarring, or perhaps warring, confederacies of North America, could not have opened and peopled the western half of the American Union as we now have it. The dreams of Jefferson and Benton were realized; a people of the same language, government and religion as the original thirteen States, guaranteeing civil and religious liberty, were now occupying the Pacific Coast, and were united with the Atlantic by "the flying car." The expense of the Union Pacific was stated as \$116,730,052, and of the Central Pacific, \$139,746,-



TATS-HOMI,

**A Warm Spring Scout who assisted in the capture of Captain Jack, the Modoc
Warrior, in 1872.**

From a photograph by Lee Moorhouse, Pendleton, Oregon.

311, in all liabilities. That the work was done most economically, or most honestly, no one will contend; but it was done. As in all the applications of great American ideas we find varying degrees of efficiency and care exercised.

In Oregon itself we find even long before the trans-continental railroad, various projects for local lines. In 1853-4, owing to the stimulus of Stevens's survey, as many as four companies were organized and chartered. It was not yet learned, however, by the comparatively simple pioneers how to "finance" a railroad, and consequently nothing came of them. They were in intent and purpose like the early Massachusetts or New York lines; of a few miles in extent, built by farmers and "storekeepers," and would, if left to the natural local growth, have resulted in a system of railways in the course of time. Prominent men in these projects were Frederick Waymire, James B. Stephens, J. D. Boon, J. L. Parrish, Robert Newell, Hugh Cosgrove, Anderson Cox, W. H. Willson, J. W. Nesmith, W. H. Rector, B. F. Harding, E. F. Skinner, and William Barlow. A road projected in 1857 was to Yaquina Bay from Corvallis. The first actual railroad built was a very short piece at Oregon City, connecting Abernethy's Island with the mainland. This was in 1846, and was laid by James McMillan; being but a wooden tramway. By the old O. S. N. Company, established in 1859, the first railroads with iron rails and employing steam engines were built; being portage roads on

the Washington side from the Lower to the Upper Cascades, and from the Dalles to Celilo.

The first movement for railway connection with an outside State came in 1863. This was the beginning of the true railroad age in Oregon, and brought in such men as Eliot, Gaston, Holladay and Villard. No minute, or even a general sketch of the labors and struggles, involving men and political parties, and developing all the excitements, and even the hostilities of actual warfare, can be entered into here. This is a theme for the character student and the sociologist. Nevertheless, a minute examination of this period in Oregon would disabuse the mind of the idea that the age of industry is any less an age of "the strenuous life" than is the age of war. In the year above named S. G. Eliot, heading a surveying party, arrived at Jacksonville, Oregon. He represented a California concern organized as the California and Columbia River R. R. Co. Arriving in Oregon he was unable to pursue his work further; but a young man then in the newspaper business here, Jos. Gaston, believed that the survey should be continued, and through his exertions the work was completed by A. C. Barry, an officer of the United States engineers, on furlough on account of injuries. The survey was completed to the Columbia, and a route into Portland also laid. A very flattering report was written, and on the strength of this a company was organized in 1864. The survey was made through the voluntary support of the Oregon people

to the party on its way. A disposition to build a road by State aid was shown in a bill introduced by Cyrus Olney, of Clatsop County, to grant a subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to any company building twenty miles of road in the Willamette Valley. The bill was in reality unconstitutional, but was never subjected to a test; the sum being trifling in view of cost. The organization styled the Willamette Valley R.R. Co. was formed by J. C. Ainsworth, H. W. Corbett, W. S. Ladd, A. C. Gibbs, I. R. Moores, and E. N. Cooke. Ainsworth was elected president, and Geo. H. Belden, who was an efficient assistant of Barry, secretary. Barry returned to Washington and sought to secure national aid, but becoming weary of delay, and unfitted for intrigue, gave up the task; securing, however, introduction of a bill in the House, through Cole, of California, of a land grant of alternate sections ten miles each side of the road. This was passed in 1866, through both branches of Congress, but was thought to be of little value, as the line must run through lands already well settled, and hence getting but little good land. As long, moreover, as there was an abundance of government land open to homestead settlement, a land subsidy was of but little immediate value. A company, however, was formed in California, with stock capital fixed at \$15,000,000, to which the lands in California should go; and in Oregon the act provided that any company designated by the State should be the beneficiary.

This was the point of departure for the long and bitter controversy. The project was indorsed by the State to the amount of pledging interest at seven per cent. on one million dollars' worth of bonds; but this was subsequently declared unconstitutional. A company styled the Oregon Central was speedily formed; the incorporators being R. R. Thompson, E. D. Shattuck, J. C. Ainsworth, John McCracken, S. G. Reed, W. S. Ladd, H. W. Corbett, C. H. Lewis, M. M. Melvin, Jesse Applegate, E. R. Geary, S. Ellsworth, F. A. Chenoweth, Joel Palmer, T. H. Cox, I. R. Moores, Geo. L. Woods, J. S. Smith, B. F. Brown, and Jos. Gaston. Gaston was elected secretary. Soon after this organization Eliot, representing the California company, arrived in Oregon and made the proposition that the road in Oregon be built by his company. Stock was offered the incorporators in consideration of the transfer. The proposition was rejected, but as it became apparent that the line would be located on the west side of the Willamette, members of the organization on the east side, particularly at Salem, organized a new company under the same name, and proceeded to negotiate means for construction. I. R. Moores and Geo. L. Woods were leaders in this new project. The fact that each side of the river desired the road made union out of the question. The contention went through the courts, the east side company being at length restrained from using the old name. But this proved an ineffective victory, as the east side interest succeeded in obtaining through

Congress a new bill authorizing the State to name a new company as the beneficiary of the land grant; as it was decided by the Secretary of the Interior that both the east side and west side were illegally organized, not having the one-half capital subscribed necessary for incorporation according to the laws of the State. As a result the land grant was awarded to the Oregon and California, as the east side road was now styled.

This consummation was due to the exertions of Benjamin Holladay, who arrived in Oregon in August, 1868, and obtained control of the east side line. Ground had been broken on the west side May 14th, and on the east side May 16th, of that year. By the State the company designated to receive the land grant was to first construct twenty miles of road. This length of line was finished by Holladay in December, 1869; and he received the grant. The west side line—having also obtained a land grant—was then sold to him, and was completed in 1872 to St. Joe on the Yamhill River. The west side was particularly the favorite of Portland; but the east side was soon found to be quite as beneficial, although it was the policy of Holladay to place his terminals in "North Portland," and on the east side. This temporarily injured real estate prices in the old center, and the benefits of railroads were seriously questioned by many hitherto ardent advocates. The railroad age came in, thus, with much smoke and grime, and even sulphurous language; and did not resemble

the millennial dawn anticipated. In 1873 the Oregon and California was completed to Roseburg.

Holladay was the owner of the overland express and pony mail service, and of the line of steamers from San Francisco to Portland. He floated his bonds in Germany, and soon found that the railroad traffic did not pay interest, and that his many real estate speculations were not taking kindly root in the conservative Oregon country. He was then obliged to turn in the receipts from his steamship line to his creditors; but this did not meet the drain. In 1876 the road passed to the bondholders, and was placed under the management of Henry Villard, a German who had become well connected in America, and began his career as a journalist. After receiving the road and line of steamers he conceived the plan of acquiring a controlling interest in the Northern Pacific, then under management of Frederick Billings, but making rather slow headway. The Northern Pacific had been chartered in 1864, with an immense land grant, making the main line to reach Puget Sound, with a branch down the Columbia to Portland. Upon renewal of the charter it was especially provided—at the instance of W. W. Chapman, of Portland—that the branch should be built on the south side of the Columbia. Villard's intention seems to have been to turn all the Pacific Coast traffic and trade to the northward, probably making the chief port on Puget Sound, but using the pass of the Columbia as the main line. He had no intention, ap-

parently, of connecting the local Oregon lines with the California system. All lines were to be feeders of the Northern Pacific. He acquired the desired interest in the Northern, boldly entering the market and buying the necessary stock, then much depressed. He also acquired the O. S. N. Co. line, and reorganized this under the name of the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, and began rapidly building a road down the Columbia from Wallula Junction, where it should connect with his Northern line. In order to bring the N. P. and the O. R. & N. under one control he organized the Oregon and Transcontinental, as financial superior of each. The work was completed in 1883—the second connection by rail from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the first under one continuous control from the Missouri. This great event was celebrated at Portland in October of that year; ex-President Grant, Wm. M. Evarts, and many other distinguished American statesmen, and visitors from England and Germany being invited guests on the excursion provided by the Company.

Villard's triumph was brief, however; in the general panic of the close of the year his fortunes went down.

The more recent developments cannot be particularized. The O. R. & N. Co. line was extended in course of time to Huntington, on the Snake River, to meet the Oregon Short Line, making a second connection by way of the Union Pacific. This was along

a route actually surveyed by Chapman, of Portland. What was known as the "Winnemucca route," projected a line from a point in Nevada by Southern Oregon to the Willamette Valley by J. B. Pengra, who, like Chapman, had been surveyor-general of the land department in Oregon was thus superseded by the line passing to the north. The Oregon and California lines fell to the share of the Southern Pacific, and were connected across the Siskiyous in 1889—thus affording the third transcontinental connection. By the completion of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and Canadian Pacific, all the transcontinental lines make connection with Oregon, having a central connection in Portland.

The hasty and radical measures of the earlier railroad period have been succeeded by conservative tendencies, consolidation, apportionment of "territory" to the several lines, and substantial improvements. Local lines have been built covering the Willamette Valley, reaching the coast at Yaquina and at Astoria, with Coos Bay soon to be connected. The attitude of the public, as the roads have passed to the hands of great capitalists, is no longer to encourage them by subsidies or public favors; to distrust the speculations attendant upon an age of railroad building; and to either reduce railroad service to a cost warrantable by value of actual investment by direct legislation, or to encourage waterway improvements, improved wagon roads, and the like; and realize the benefits of rail transportation without attendant ex-

tortions. It will probably be found here also that the creature is not greater than the creator. Outside of the will of the people, in their organic capacity, the corporation, like the individual, will find that it is as insignificant and impotent, as with it each is well-nigh all powerful.

NAVIGATION.

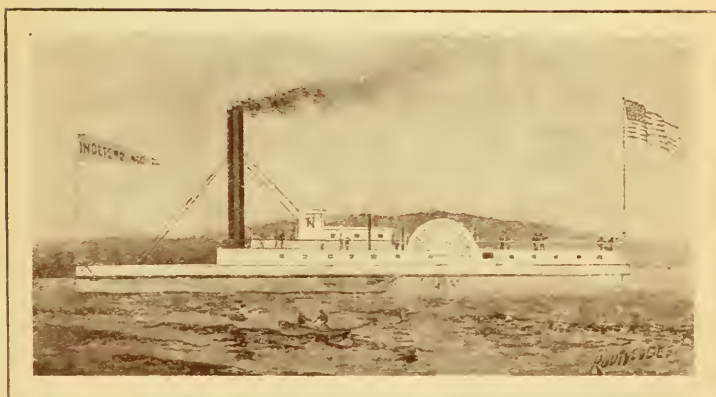
Regular coasting steamers began to run from San Francisco in 1850; the Pacific steamship "Caroline" arriving in the early summer of that year. During the summer the "Oregon" and "Panama" each made one trip. Early the next year the steamer "Columbia" began regular monthly trips, but usually stopped at Astoria or St. Helens. There was a continual desire on the part of the company to be allowed to leave the mail at some point in Southern Oregon; from this arose the effort to make a harbor for the country at Port Orford. The mail was allowed to be left here until protest was made from Portland. On account of the steamships not accommodating this town an effort was made at an early day by the proprietors of the town site, Lownsdale, Coffin and Chapman, to start an independent line. The steamer "Goldhunter" was obtained and made one trip, but was then libeled on account of debts unknown to the Portland men by parties in California and discontinued. The mail line was subsequently absorbed by Ben Holladay, the steamers "Brother

Jonathan," " Oriflamme," " Ajax," " Continental " and " John L. Stephens " being run regularly, and affording weekly service. On the line passing with the Holladay R.R.'s to the German bondholders new iron vessels were purchased, the " Oregon," " California," " Columbia," and " Queen of the Pacific " being of the number. The " Geo. W. Elder " was also brought out about this time. The O. R. and N. Company still maintains the line. An opposition line under Cornwall was placed on, with the old steamer " Great Republic," a Pacific liner; until the wreck, under suspicious circumstances, of the vessel.

Mention has already been made of a number of small sailing vessels put together or built in Oregon at an early day; the " Dolly," at Astoria; the " Vancouver " at Vancouver; the " Star of Oregon " at Swan Island and Oregon City; and the " Wave " and " Pioneer " on the lower Columbia. A schooner-rigged canoe, the " Calapooyan," was also built at an early day and used for transporting passengers and freight on the lower Columbia. The first river steamer built in Oregon, as stated by Judge Strong, was a sidewheeler, ninety feet long, built at Upper Astoria by General Adair and others. First trip in June, 1850. The machinery was afterward placed in the " Fashion." The sidewheeler " Lot Whitcomb " was built at Milwaukee and launched Christmas, 1850. This was a substantial vessel of 600 tons; keel 160 feet, of one stick of Ore-



LOT WHITCOMB
Founder of Milwaukee.



THE "LOT WHITCOMB"

The second steamboat built in Oregon. Launched at Milwaukee in December, 1850.

gon fir. This handsome craft was placed on the Astoria route, until transferred in 1853 to the Sacramento River, making the ocean voyage without accident. The builder of the boat was Lot Whitcomb, assisted by Colonel Jennings, S. S. White and others. The first captain was J. C. Ainsworth, and the first engineer, Jacob Kamm—both names well known in the annals of business and transportation in early Oregon. Ainsworth came to Oregon from Iowa, and had engaged in steamboating on the Mississippi. A large and fine river steamer, called the “Willamette,” iron hull, was brought out by way of Cape Horn by the Pacific Mail Company, and placed on the line from Astoria to Portland, connecting with the ocean steamers; but was transferred to the Sacramento in 1852. Fare, on this route, beginning at \$25, was soon reduced to \$10.

On the Willamette above the falls, the first steamer was the “Hoosier,” plying between Canemah and the Yamhill; built in 1851 at Oregon City. The same year three steamers, in sections, were brought to Oregon City from New York by the bark “Success.” The “Eagle,” a very small craft, run by a screw propeller, and operated by Captain Wells and Richard Williams; the “Washington,” also a propeller, by Alexander S. Murray, was run both above and below the Falls, and finally taken to the Umpqua by sea, and placed on that river. The “Multnomah,” the third, was set up at Canemah by several army officers, Gray and Maxwell, and Captain Bincle,

The construction was peculiar, being of oak staves, but very substantial. She was run first above the Falls, but taken below, run to the Cascades, and also on the Columbia below the Willamette, proving a serviceable boat, and fastidiously nice in all appointments. The "Belle" was built soon afterwards by Wells and Williams; and the "Black Hawk" is also mentioned as plying between Portland and Oregon City.

Other boats, illustrating the growth of trade and business, were: The "Portland," built at Portland (east side) 1853, by A. S. Murray, John Torrence, and James Clinton; carried over the Falls in 1857, totally demolished. The "Canemah," for the run from Canemah to Corvallis, by A. F. Hedges, Charles Bennett, Alanson Beers and Hamilton Campbell, 1851; the "Oregon," by Ben. Simpson and Co., 1852; the "Shoalwater," by the same company as the Canemah, 1852-3, and commanded by Captain Lem. White; the "Willamette," by same company, soon after; the "Gazelle," 1853, by a California Company, but exploded the boiler soon after launching, in 1854, by which many passengers were killed and injured. The wreck was reconverted into the steamer "Senorita," by Hoyt, Wells and Murray. The "Enterprise," a substantial boat, 115-foot keel, was built for the run above the Falls, 1855, by Archibald Jamieson, A. S. Murray, Amory Holbrook, John Torrence and others. This was of the stern-wheel type, which is almost peculiar to the Willamette and

Columbia and best adapted to swift waters and broken currents, 1856; the "Surprise," stern-wheel, was built by Cochrane, Gibson, Cassidy, and others; the "Success," by Baughman. In 1862 the People's Transportation Company was organized out of a number of individual or company enterprises, confining themselves to navigation of the Willamette above Portland. The line was sold out to Ben. Holladay in 1869, or '70, the entire transportation business of the Willamette Valley thus passing to him. The Canal and Docks were subsequently constructed, again opening competition, and at present quite a considerable portion of the transportation, especially in the way of grain, wool, hops, potatoes, and other farm produce, is done by river; and, consequently, railroad freights are much reduced.

On the Columbia, above the mouth of the Willamette, there were a number of individuals or small companies operating steamers. These were all consolidated into one line under the name of The Oregon Steam Navigation Company. The steamers "Carrie Ladd," "Senorita," and "Belle," belonged to one line operating between Portland and the Lower Cascades, and were represented by J. C. Ainsworth. There was also the steamer "Mountain Buck," owned by Col. J. S. Ruckel, on the same line. From the Lower to the Upper Cascades, Bradford and Company had built and were operating a wooden tramway, or horse railroad; they also had a small steamer on the middle section of the Columbia, from

the Cascades to the Dalles. These united in April, 1859, under one name as the Union Transportation Company. Other boats, as the "Independence" and "Wasco," in the control of Alexander Ankeny and Geo. W. Vaughn, and the "Flint" and "Fashion," owned by Capt. J. O. Van Bergen, were also brought into the combination. Above the Dalles there was still another incipient organization, by R. R. Thompson and Lawrence Coe, who had built the "Col. Wright." Thompson had been in the Indian service, and knew what would be the result of the opening of the upper country after the protracted exclusion of Americans owing to the Indian wars.

In December of 1860—the 19th—these various interests were incorporated under the laws of Washington—no incorporation laws at that time having been framed in Oregon—as the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. The principal office was to be at Vancouver, and the incorporators were J. C. Ainsworth, G. F. Bradford, J. S. Ruckel, R. R. Thompson, and others. Owing to what was considered invidious legislation in Washington the head office was transferred to Portland. New and powerful boats were built, an iron railway for steam-car service was laid for the portages at the Cascades and the Dalles, and during the rush of miners to the gold fields of Colville, John Day, Powder River, Baker City, and the numerous gold fields of the Clearwater and Salmon River, the steamboat company made enormous profits. An enlightened policy, however, was pur-

SIGNATURES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION HELD
AT SALEM IN SEPTEMBER, 1857

Chester A. Terry
Secretary

W. C. Parkinell
assistant Secretary

J. H. Reed

W. P. Deady Pres.

Solomon Fitch

Nathaniel Robbins

E. J. Whitcomb
~~Paul P. Britain~~

Isaac R. Moors

Benjamin S. Cagle,

Emory H. Hunt

William Matzger

Wm. A. Hardweather

Jesse Cox

J. H. Britain

L. J. O'Duncan

P. P. Brown

A. J. Lovejoy

James H. Kelly

David Logart

Benjamin F. Bunch

Thomas Whitted

Chas. V. Hunt

N. J. Shrum

N. B. Nichols

Daniel Newcomb.	J. C. Peckley
Enos Elkins	A. J. Campbell
Le Fayette Gorn	
Darius Hammond	Ruben P. Bress
Simon B. Henshaw	Levins Olney
John W. Watts	W. H. Watkins
P. B. Murphey	
A. D. Babcock	Harlan C. Lewis
Richard Millet	
C. F. Waymire	Jesse Applegate.
Joseph. H. of	Levi Scott
Belagou Smith	E. D. Shattuck
Thomas J. Dwyer	
John L. Brooks	C. R. Meigs
W. H. Packard	W. Olds
Levi Anderson	
John Kellogg	
Robert C. Hinney	
James Shivers	
John S. Whitin	
Geo. H. Williams	
William H. Farrar	
Stephen A. Chauncey	
John McBride	
W. Bristow	

sued, and as the stockraising and wheat-producing eras followed the distinctively mining days, freights and fares were brought within reasonable limits, and that without much pressure from competition. Steamboat service was extended to Lewiston. The capacities of the stern-wheel steamer were greatly developed under the chief engineer of the Company, John Gates. Many useful inventions were made by this constructive genius, one of the most valuable being the hydraulic steering apparatus. The river steamer was brought to its perfection as a facile and living mechanism on the swift waters of the Columbia and its affluents.

With the construction of the O. R. and N. Railway, and the transfer of the old O. S. N. interests to this railroad the Columbia and Snake became almost deserted above the Cascades. The completion of the Cascade locks, for which Senator Mitchell had earnestly labored, twenty years after the project was begun, has operated to gradually furnish the river to the Dalles with steamers, as well as to reduce freight rates to that point. While contending with large corporate interests the people will undoubtedly at no great length of time succeed in obtaining a similar improvement at the Dalles. River rates, without cost of portages, will thus prevail from the entire interior to the seaboard. Two complementary means of transportation will thus be afforded in the entire Columbia River Basin. Independent lines are already operating wherever the river is open to river

transportation entirely—the railroad portage being the *sine qua non* of successful monopolization of the traffic. Steam navigation on the Columbia, as well as from its harbor, is as yet but in its beginnings. The conditions are such, with necessary improvements of the river and its harbor, that nowhere else in the world will cost of exchange be lighter in comparison to values exchanged, and hence where wealth can be more easily produced. This condition prevails over the entire Columbia River and Puget Sound Basin, or the old Oregon of about five hundred miles square.

Recurring to the theme of Oregon history, that it is a manifestation of the National Idea as apprehended and applied by the common people, it is seen that navigation in Oregon is also an application of the same. Except for the National Government and its accumulated resources the navigation facilities of the rivers of Oregon—noting especially the deepening of the channel at the mouth of the Columbia and the construction of the Cascade locks, together with the coast survey work, improvement of minor harbors and the like—would have long remained uncontrollable to the higher uses. The hand of the National Government draws a channel or smooths out an obstruction before which the individual might pause forever, or such a state as the infant Oregon unaided might sit down and contemplate for a century.

CHAPTER IX

INDICIA OF A PROGRESSIVE STATE

A CYCLOPEDIA view of the present development of the various phases of life which comprise that of the modern State, or industrial community, is not here in place; but some notice of the history and present results of journalism, education and State officers will be inserted both for convenient reference and as an illustration of the type of civil life introduced on the Pacific Coast by the American people.

The first printing press on this coast was received by H. H. Spalding, as a gift from the Sandwich Island Mission to that established among the Nez Percés. (See "Mission Press.")

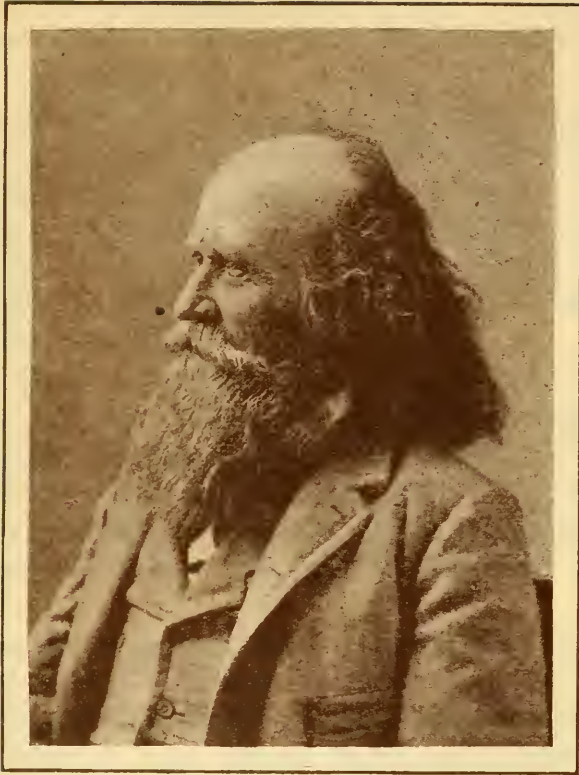
True periodical literature began in 1846. In that year a publishing company, under the name of the Oregon Printing Association, was established at Oregon City, and under its directions a semi-monthly, called the *Oregon Spectator*, was issued; the first number being dated February 5, 1846. The editor was W. G. T'Vault, who, in his first leader stated that the policy of the paper was to be determined by the association, and that this would be non-political. The field of its activity would be discussion of Oregon interests. As a matter of fact it became chiefly useful as the vehicle for dissemination of the laws and acts of the Provisional Government. Editorial management soon after passed to George L. Curry, who, however, in 1848, established the *Free Press*, a weekly, at Oregon City. Within a few years it was found

impossible to sustain a paper without discussion of partisan politics, or else as the advocate of some embryo town; or, as both combined. A local paper was thus established in 1850 at Milwaukee, where Lot Whitcomb, Jos. L. Kellogg, and Seth Luelling were establishing a town as a commercial rival of Oregon City. In the summer of the same year the proprietors of the Portland townsite, Chapman, Coffin, and Lownsdale, decided that it was necessary to have their own newspaper if the town was to become known; and with this object among others in view, Chapman made a trip to San Francisco. At this city Thomas L. Dryer, a traveling journalist, was interested and induced to locate at Portland. The first issue of the paper, called the *Oregonian*, appeared December 4th, 1850. Dryer was a popular speaker, well calculated to make an impression in a young community, and an ardent Whig. Collection and dissemination of local news in the ordinary sense was the least feature of this early weekly, and journalistic editorial discussion, the greatest. A pungent and boisterous style was the characteristic feature of his writing. Dryer has been described as "a sturdy character, a man for the times, and the paper under his direction was a positive force in Portland and throughout Oregon." He remained as editor and proprietor until 1860, when he turned over the plant to a young man in the office to whom he had become much in debt for services, and having been a warm supporter of Lincoln, accepted as his reward

a United States Government position in Honolulu; thus quitting the city of his adoption after ten years' service. The young man to whom he thus left the paper was Henry L. Pittock—of whom it has been said, "To him more than to any other it [the *Oregonian*] owes the triumph of its career. He has anticipated possibilities and has kept the *Oregonian* at all times ahead of the general development of the country." February 4th, 1861, Pittock ventured upon a daily issue, and in 1864 succeeded in obtaining daily telegraphic service by way of San Francisco, then connected by wire with the East. Editors of the *Oregonian* have been, in succession after Dryer: 1861, Simeon Francis, who had published the Springfield (Ill.) *Journal*, and was a personal friend and supporter of Lincoln; 1862, Amory Holbrook, a gifted and enterprising lawyer, of a somewhat biting wit; John F. Damon, and Samuel A. Clarke; the latter well known later in the journalistic field. In 1865, desiring a permanent personality in the editorial department Pittock employed Harvey W. Scott, then just graduated from Pacific University, to undertake the task. This seemed a somewhat venturesome step, as although having earned high collegiate honors Mr. Scott had as yet no experience in the journalists' trade. But that the selection was well made, and that neither of the parties concerned in the transaction had overstepped their limits, has been shown in a journalistic career that has won respect and even national recognition in an age of emi-

nent journalism. With the exception of a few years, from 1872 to 1877, Mr. Scott has been editor in chief of the *Oregonian*. This retains the leading position on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and is rated among the strongest journals of the United States. The substantial features, a strong editorial department, numerous descriptive and informational articles exhibiting the natural resources, progress of development, and historical sketches, have to a larger degree than in most daily papers, been steadily characteristic of the *Oregonian*; and in its special editions it has to a large degree performed the work of the monthly magazine.

The *Oregon Statesman*, a paper of conspicuous ability, Democratic in politics, was started in at Oregon City, in 1851, by Asahel Bush. About the same time the *Argus*, of Whig, and later of Republican, principles, was established at the same place by W. L. Adams. The *Oregonian*, the *Statesman* and the *Argus* were mutually antagonistic. The *Statesman* strongly antagonized the Know-nothings. It was later removed to the capital, and has latterly been published with great success as a Republican State paper. In 1855 the first denominational paper was established. This was the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, published as a part of the denominational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was first edited by Rev. T. H. Pearne. It was removed in 1859 to Portland, where it was edited successively by Rev. H. C. Benson, Rev. Isaac Dillon, and Rev. J. H. Ac-



CINCINNATUS H. MILLER

(Joaquin Miller.)



ton. It was subsequently placed under a corporation, and edited by Rev. H. K. Hines, succeeded by W. S. Harrington.

The Catholic Church has been represented in this field by the *Catholic Sentinel*, started in 1870, under editorial management of the Very Rev. J. F. Fierens; succeeded by Jas. R. Wiley; and following him, M. G. Munly. The Baptists, Spiritualists, Christians, and other religious bodies have also maintained weekly newspapers.

The literary character of the German citizens of Oregon has been evidenced by publication of three distinctively German papers in Portland; the *Deutsch Zeitung*, established 1867, by C. A. Laudenberg; the *Staats Zeitung*, 1877, by Dr. J. Folkman; and the *Freie Presse*, 1885, by Von Ottenstedt and Sittig.

As an able advocate of the Woman Suffrage movement, the *New Northwest* was established in 1871, by Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway; Mrs. Duniway being a daughter of John Tucker Scott, and sister of Harvey W. Scott. The farming and dairying interests have been represented in this field by the *Willamette Farmer*, published under D. W. Craig and Sam. A. Clarke, and the *North Pacific Rural Spirit*, by W. W. Baker; the two being merged at Portland in 1878; and the *Pacific Farmer*, established somewhat later in Portland by Frank Lee; and by others. The sporting world has been represented largely by the *Sunday Mercury*, established at Salem by Wm.

Thompson and others; removed to Portland, 1880, by Walter T. Moss. The temperance interest has been advocated by *The Good Templar*, edited at one time by M. C. George; and the *Prohibition Star*, established at Salem by Fred. Floed, and Flemming Owens and others; removed to Portland, 1888, and in 1889 merged into the new party paper, the *Pacific Express*, which was later published as a Populist paper.

The history of political party journalism can be only hinted. The *Western Star* started at Milwaukee, was soon after brought to Portland and published as the *Oregon Times*, by Orvin Waterman, and later by Carter and Austin. The *Democratic Standard* was established soon after and edited by Alonzo Leland, and later by James O'Meara. The first daily paper was the *Portland Daily News*—a name not infrequently assumed later; published by S. A. English, and edited by E. D. Shattuck; the first issue being April 15, 1859. The *Oregon Advertiser* covered a career from 1859-1862; published by Alonzo Leland; edited at different times by S. J. McCormack and Geo. L. Curry. The *Daily Evening News* was started in 1865, by Col. Van Cleve and Ward Latter. The *Oregon Herald*, for some time an aggressive Democratic paper, brought out the first number, March 17, 1866, under H. M. Abbott and N. L. Butler, with Beriah Brown as editor. In 1868 sold to W. Weatherford, with Sylvester Pennoyer as editor; changed

hands again in 1869, Eugene Semple becoming editor. The *Portland Evening Bulletin* and *Portland Evening Commercial* were established in 1868; the *Portland Daily Bulletin*, by Ben. Holladay, in 1870, edited successively by James O'Meara, H. W. Scott and T. B. Odeneal; under the last mentioned publication being suspended, the *Bulletin* proving to be one of the most expensive of Holladay's many ventures in Oregon. The *Daily Bee* was established by D. H. Stearns in 1875; the *Daily Evening Journal* somewhat later. The *Portland Standard*, 1876, by A. Noltner, as a daily. Since 1880 political, daily, benevolent and real estate journalism has been so greatly multiplied as to pass the limits of these pages to mention. Every special interest, every town and settlement, and the people of almost every nationality in the State, has now its newspaper spokesman.

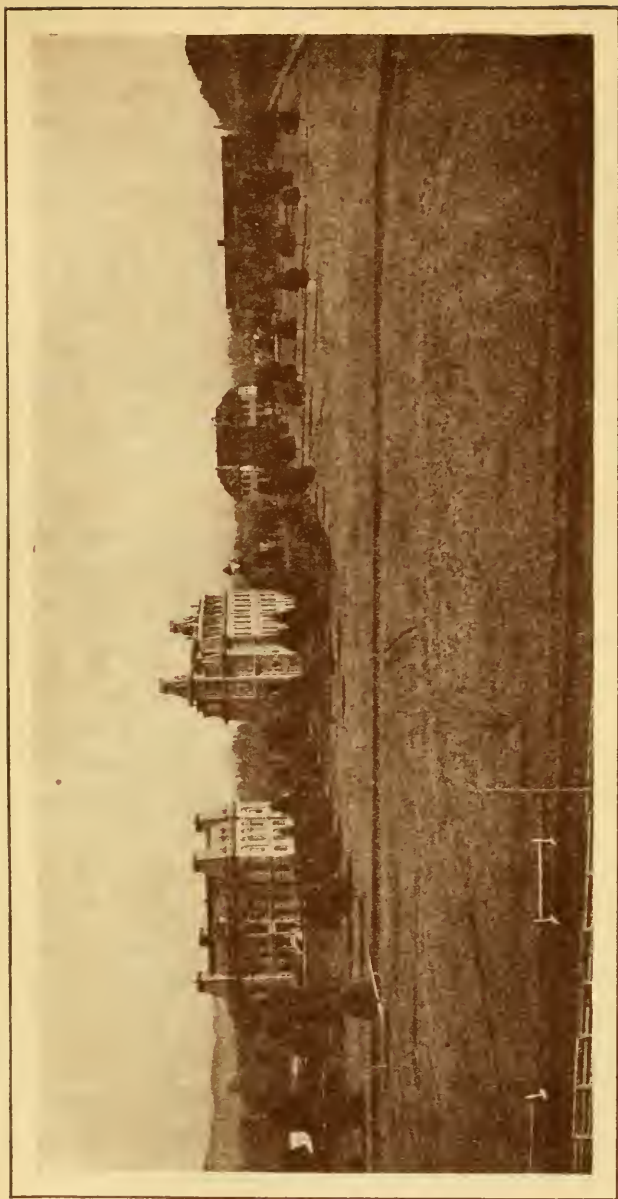
Magazine literature has been to some degree cultivated by the *West Shore*, established 1875 at Portland by L. Samuels; *The Pacific Empire*, by Lischen Miller; *The Oregon Native Son*, by F. H. Saylor; the *Pacific Monthly*, by W. B. Wells; and the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, under the *Oregon Historical Society*, edited by the secretary, F. G. Young.

The wider field of Oregon literature, in relation to which journalism stands as a large, if not the larger proportion, cannot be adequately noticed here, and must be sought in other pages.

PIONEER PRINTERS AND EDITORS.

From an article in preparation by George H. Himes, assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, and himself a pioneer printer and publisher; and from the excellent compilation made by Hon. Harrison R. Kincaid, as Secretary of State in 1898, the following items in regard to early printing and publishing in Oregon, with editors and newspaper men, have been taken.

The Mission Press.—This was a small, old-fashioned Ramage hand-press, which was sent first, in 1819, to Honolulu, for use of the missionaries of the American Board there. In 1838 it was given by them to the Oregon Mission of the same Board, and with it arrived E. O. Hall, as printer, accompanied by his wife, whose health had failed in the Hawaiian climate. Six hundred copies of the New Testament were struck off at Lapwai, in Nez Perce, from translations made by Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, assisted by Mrs. Whitman. The second printer on this press was a stranger, appearing as a tramp, or refugee, on the bank of the Clearwater, and who told Mr. Spalding when brought across the river and taken in, that he was from Saskatchewan. Seeing the printing plant he said, "Now I am at home," and proved in fact to be a practical printer, and remained and worked all winter. He gave his name as Turner. In the spring he suddenly disappeared as mysteriously as he came, not even asking for the pay that Spald-



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ing would have given him. Medare G. Foisy, as already mentioned, and Charles Saxton, were printers later at Lapwai. The press was obtained before the Cayuse War by Joseph Holman, of Salem, for publishing a paper at Salem, but was returned on account of certain conditions imposed by the owners. After the war it was brought to Tualatin Plains and used in the publication of the *American* by Spalding and Griffin. The printer here was C. F. Putman. The press, with specimens of its first work, is now in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland.

Of the first newspaper, the *Oregon Spectator*, the following particulars, not already noticed, have been given. "The Oregon Printing Association," organized in 1845 for the purpose of supplying a public vehicle for discussion and dissemination of information, was composed of the following: W. G. T'Vault, President; J. W. Nesmith, Vice-President; John P. Brooks, Secretary; Geo. Abernethy, Treasurer; Robert Newell, John E. Long, and John H. Couch, Directors. William T'Vault, also styled "Colonel," was a native of Kentucky. He is described as "a marked character in the early history of Oregon, and he made warm friends and bitter enemies." Assuming editorial charge in February, 1846, he wrote his valedictory April 2, following. He was a pioneer of 1845. Although retiring from the *Spectator*, on account of rather too steadfast adherence to political principles, he did not retire from

journalism. In 1858, with Messrs. Taylor and Blakeley, he started the *Umpqua Gazette* at Scottsburg, then a promising port in southern Oregon, on the lovely lower Umpqua River. He soon removed it to Jacksonville and changed the name to *The Oregon Sentinel*. This was discontinued in 1859, but in 1863 he reanimated the *Civilian*, giving it the new name of *Intelligencer*. Colonel T'Vault was thus the pioneer of journalism in both northern and southern Oregon.

After the retirement of T'Vault the *Speetator* was edited by Henry A. G. Lee, a well educated and popular young man from Virginia and connected with the celebrated family of the Old Dominion. He had been educated for the ministry, but finding doctrinal impediments in the way, he, like so many others troubled with metaphysical difficulties, sought rest in the wilds of the West, reaching Oregon in 1843. He maintained a high character, and was one of the most deserving of the officers in the Cayuse War. In order to emphasize his belief that the murderers of Whitman must be punished, and that the proper place to protect the families in Oregon was by a campaign in the Walla Walla, he raised a company, and proceeded to the Dalles to march with Gilliam up the river. After the war he was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs. His life, promising great usefulness, was terminated on the Isthmus of Panama by fever, as he was on the way East for a visit. His wife was a daughter of the pioneer S. W. Moss, of 1842. The editorial work of Geo. L. Curry, as al-

ready mentioned, began in October, 1846. Flemming W. P. Hudson was employed as printer, and among other issues of the press was the "Webster's Spelling Book"—an old-fashioned blue-covered, unattractive pasteboard booklet, enough to give any modern child the horrors; but with this, and miscellaneous copies of law books, and family Bibles, many of the pioneer boys and girls obtained the essentials of a good education. The bookbinder was Charles W. Shane.

In 1848 the *Spectator* was enlarged, and editorial control was assumed by Aaron E. Waite, a well educated young man from Massachusetts, and well known in Oregon as judge for five years of the Supreme Court of the State. Following Waite was Wilson Blain, a Presbyterian minister. With him, however, the paper was discontinued. This was due to the change in the times; a non-political newspaper was no longer desired, and while the old order was passing new spirits were already planning a new Democratic paper. This was the *Statesman*.

With this began a decided era in Oregon journalism, the names of Asahel Bush, W. L. Adams, and D. W. Craig, with others, appearing in our journalism. In this era also was formed what became known as *The Oregon Style*, a species of storm and stress composition, strong chiefly in invective, and availing itself of the condition of the times—in a community when everyone's private affairs and personal name were known to every inhabitant—to coin amusing or even offensive titles for opponents. There were also

bitter political differences arising, and the marks of the period before and during the war are deep and broad in the journalism of this then remote part of the Union. The *Statesman*, whose original object was to hold Democrats to their allegiance and expose Know-nothingism, and then to destroy the Whigs in the State, was started by Henry Russell and A. W. Starkweather; in 1850 the printer was D. J. Schnebley. It was continued until 1855 at Oregon City. In that year the plant was sold to W. L. Adams, a pioneer of 1848, settler of Yamhill County, and a minister of the Christian Church. He was a Whig, a man of keen wit, remorseless ridicule, and devoted to dissemination of national ideas.

Asahel Bush, one of the most considerable figures in Oregon journalism, was born in Massachusetts in 1824. Left fatherless at fifteen he learned the printer's trade. By this means he was enabled to gain an education, and studied law. In 1850 he came to Oregon by the Isthmus route, and reaching Oregon City found opportunity to show both his ability as writer and as acquainted with law. Within three months he was elected chief clerk of the Territorial Legislature. He was soon elected Territorial printer—an office to which he was returned the entire period of the Territorial government, and for three years as State printer, a consecutive service of about thirteen years. He started the *Statesman* in 1851. He has been characterized as “a witty, pungent, and rather brilliant writer, having a peculiar cutting, abrupt and

sometimes harsh style, but one which was very effective in moulding public opinion. . . . In politics Mr. Bush was originally what was known as a Douglas Democrat, and later known as an Oregon Union Democrat. . . . He is said to have largely controlled the politics of Oregon Territory."

Arriving in Oregon while Bush was publishing the *Statesman*, David Weston Craig, a native of Kentucky, educated in law at Springfield, Ill., began work on the *Statesman* paper. In 1859 he became proprietor of the *Argus*, still edited by Adams, but consolidated with the *Statesman*, and then owned by Bush and Williams, in 1863. The *Statesman* had been removed to Salem, reanimated under a printing and publishing company, as a radical Republican paper; the chief stockholders being J. W. P. Huntington, Benjamin Simpson, Rufus Mallory, Chester N. Terry and George H. Williams, besides Craig. In 1866 Craig having gained a majority of the stock sold out to Simpson, by whom it was published, with his two sons, Sylvester and Sam. L., as editors. It was in this office, therefore, that the brilliant poet of Oregon began his literary career. The venture does not seem to have been very remunerative, and the paper was sold to W. A. McPherson, and merged with the *Unionist*. In 1869 it was acquired by Samuel A. Clarke, another veteran journalist already mentioned. With the *Willamette Farmer*, and later publications, D. W. Craig has still been interested, and the *Statesman* continues as a leading State paper.

The *Oregon State Journal*, published consecutively for nearly forty years, and still in the field, was founded by the present proprietor, Harrison R. Kincaid, and may be justly regarded as a monument of personal fidelity and capacity. Ex-Secretary of State Kincaid was born in Indiana in 1836, and came to Oregon as a boy in 1853. After assisting in making a pioneer home for the family he went to California and worked on ranches and in the mines; but returned to Oregon in 1859, and began study at the old Columbia College, which formed in a manner the nucleus of the State University. Taking advantage of work in the local papers, the *People's Press*, the *State Republican*, and the *Crusader*, he founded for himself the *Oregon State Journal*.

These are but the beginnings of journalism in Oregon, and many other names should be added in any complete view of the subject; but enough has been said to illustrate the theme of this work; that the Oregon immigrants brought with them and placed into operation all the active forces of modern civilized life. They brought the printing press as well as the church, the school, the steam engine and American system of popular government.

EDUCATION AND PIONEER EDUCATORS

The stamp of the school teacher has been manifest in Oregon almost from the day that Hall J. Kelley,



PORTLAND ACADEMY AND FEMALE SEMINARY IN 1865



COURT HOUSE AT THE DALLES, BUILT IN 1858

The first court house built between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains.

the Boston schoolmaster, undertook to educate the American people on the subject of Oregon.

As has been mentioned the very first school taught in the limits of old Oregon was that of John Ball, one of Wyeth's first party, at Vancouver. This was of very short duration, and was taken up soon after by Solomon H. Smith, another member of Wyeth's first party; who also, after going to French Prairie, taught a small private school near the house of Joseph Gervais, at the old Chemawa. This was superseded in 1835 by the Methodist Mission School for the Indians, under Cyrus Shepard. This was continued with varying success after the death of this devoted Christian laborer, under the general care of the Mission.

Early in 1842, however, Jason Lee, still the superintendent of the Mission, arrived at the conclusion that the old institution at Chemawa was not calculated to meet the wants of the country, and that far more systematic work must be undertaken. He saw that as the white population increased the white children must be educated as well as the Indian, and that the two classes required radically different conditions—the former, to be educated chiefly as day pupils while at home with their parents, and the latter as boarding pupils away from the tribal influences of their people. For the whites a plan was proposed at a meeting called at his own house, at Chemekete, or Salem, January 17th; and as a result The Oregon Institute was projected. This was to be for the

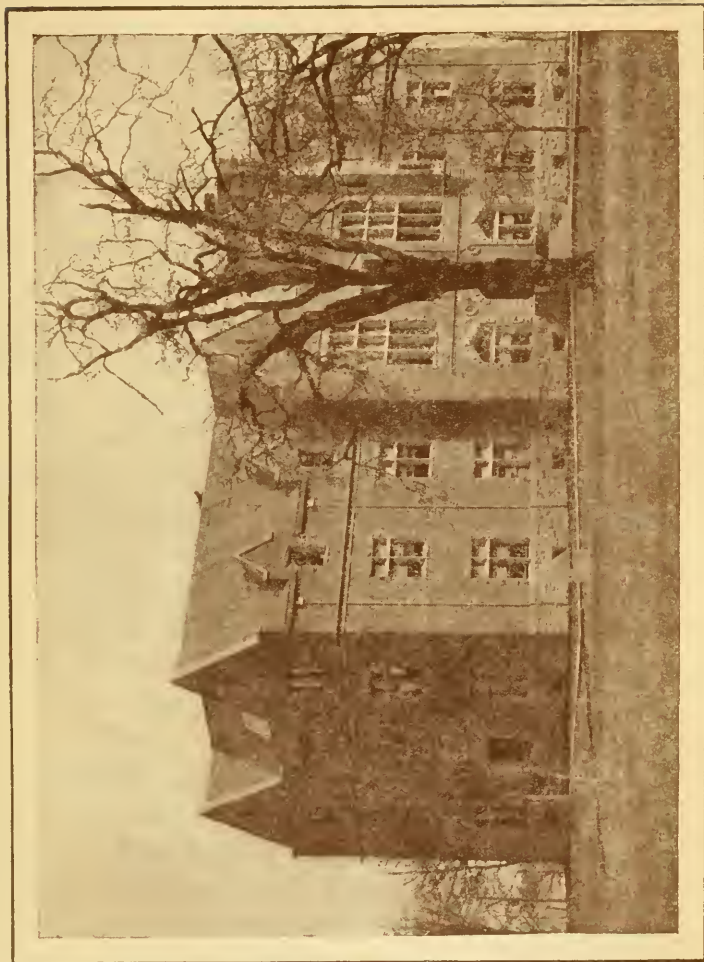
whites. A committee was appointed, consisting of Gustavus Hines, David Leslie and Dr. Ira L. Babcock, to prepare business for another meeting, which was held at the Old Mission February 1, following, and reported favorably. A board of nine trustees, consisting of Jason Lee, David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, J. L. Parrish, L. H. Judson, George Abernethy, Hamilton Campbell, Alanson Beers and Dr. Ira L. Babcock, was appointed, and authorized to proceed with the Institute. This was entirely a voluntary association, without even legal standing, as the laws of the Provisional Government under the peculiar condition of things in Oregon, did not touch the subject of incorporation. A site a few miles north of the present site of Salem was chosen, but remained little improved, and the school was not really started until further changes were brought about. These were by its removal to the Indian Manual Training School—the second project of Jason Lee's for solving the educational problem.

His plans in this respect were large and generous. He decided to employ funds of the Mission to build a large and commodious schoolhouse, the upper stories of which would serve for dormitories, and definitely train the Indian youth in manual labor and civilized industry. This was at Chemekete, or Salem, and the square mile that it was expected would be allowed the Mission under the Donation Land Law included the present site of the State Capitol and large grounds. A three-story structure, seventy-five by for-

ty-eight feet, was erected, at a cost, even incomplete, of ten thousand dollars. His plan, however, was entirely defeated by the action of the agent who arrived in 1844, as superintendent; and who closed out the secular affairs of the Mission. This gentleman, Rev. Mr. Gary, did not at all appreciate the idea of manual training for Indian youth, having the old-fashioned missionary conception that conversions and religious teaching was the only legitimate missionary work. The Manual Training School, therefore, was disposed of at a great sacrifice to the trustees of the Oregon Institute, and all effort for the Indian population was abandoned. The soundness of Lee's views, however, has been amply shown in the policy latterly adopted by the United States Government. At the new Chemawa, but a few miles north of Lee's Manual Training School is now located the Indian Industrial School, with buildings approximating a handsome village in style and number, and a new structure to cost \$25,000 already provided; and an attendance of about five hundred young men and women of the native population of the Northwest.

Upon acquiring the building, however, the trustees of the Institute began a vigorous prosecution of the educational work. The first teacher was Mrs. W. H. Willson, who had arrived with the reënforcement of 1839 as Miss Chloë A. Clark, and upon the dissolution of the Mission was stationed with her husband at Nisqually; but removed to Salem; Mr. Willson becoming known as one of the founders of the city.

In 1849 Nehemiah Doane arrived as a teacher, but shortly left to establish the Portland Academy. Francis S. Hoyt then became president, and is well remembered as the one giving its chief educational character to the Institute. Among the early presidents was T. M. Gatch, still a leading educator in Oregon, being president of the Oregon Agricultural College at Corvallis. To follow up the faculty and its members, or, to even name the alumni over six hundred in number, of this oldest Oregon educational institution, now known as Willamette University, would transcend the limits of this work. A number of academies were established as feeders to the Institute, as well as for the sake of education in the young communities. J. H. Wilbur was one of the most indefatigable of educational pioneers; starting the Portland Academy, on a donation of three blocks, one of which was used as a site, and the other two as the beginning of an endowment. This was opened in 1851, under charge of Calvin S. Kingsley—a man of much brilliancy. Wilbur also founded the Umpqua Academy at the town of Wilbur, which was opened under T. S. Royal. The Ashland Academy, in the Rogue River Valley, was also first established by Methodists. The later tendency has been to place these denominational schools under State control as normal schools—that at Drain, in the Umpqua, at Ashland, in the Rogue River, and at Weston, in the Umatilla country, being the logical successors of the



MARSH HALL, PACIFIC UNIVERSITY, FOREST GROVE

educational spirit that was shown in founding of the denominational academies.

The second educational institution, and its allied series, was that founded at Forest Grove, in Washington County. This was the logical result of the work of Whitman and his associates. Rev. Harvey Clarke coming as an independent missionary in 1840 first opened a private school on East Tualatin Plain, but soon located on West Tualatin, or Forest Grove, as afterward called. Here, in 1846, his idea of establishing a boarding school was brought to realization by Mrs. Tabitha Brown—even then a gray-haired woman, and partially paralyzed in one limb; but of great energy, executive ability, and full of resources. She arrived penniless in Oregon in 1846, coming by the terrible Southern Oregon route into the Willamette; but the first winter supported herself by making buckskin gloves. In a short time she became acquainted with the missionary families who showed her every courtesy, and visited from place to place until at Forest Grove she believed the spot for a school had been reached. By Clarke, Walker, Spalding, Eells, Geiger and Hinman, assisted by A. T. Smith, Griffin, Naylor, and Catching, and others, a liberal land donation was raised. By Atkinson, who arrived as home missionary of the Congregationalist Church in 1848, the school was made a special charge, and an endowment was secured in the East, Henry Ward Beecher among others lending his patronage. Sidney H. Marsh, a son of President Marsh, of

Dartmouth College, was secured as teacher, and under him the school was raised to the rank of a college, with its aspirations indicated in the name of University.

Mrs. J. Quinn Thornton, a well educated woman, opened a private school at Oregon City, in 1847, for young ladies. But the main early educational work in Oregon was denominational. The great energy of the Catholic Church in this line was shown by establishing the St. Paul's Academy at St. Paul du Willamette, before 1840; which was greatly enlarged upon arrival of De Smet's force of religious teachers on the "Indefatigable." They now have academies at Albany, Salem, Pendleton, La Grande, Jacksonville, Portland; and colleges at Baker City and Mount Angel—the latter being one of the large institutions of the State. The other denominations have planted their schools also; the Baptists at McMinnville; the United Brethren at Philomath, Benton County; the Friends at Newberg, Yamhill County; the Presbyterians at Albany; the Evangelical Church at Lafayette, Yamhill County; the Cumberland Presbyterians at Sodaville, Linn County; the Liberals at Silverton, Marion County; and the Protestant Episcopal Church at Portland. Bishop Scott Academy and St. Helen's Hall, of the latter church, commemorate the work of Bishop Scott, and of Bishop Morris respectively, and enjoy a large patronage from the entire Northwest.

The later tendency, as already noted, has been to-



BISHOP THOMAS F. SCOTT

First Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon.

ward State schools of the higher character. The institution of the Methodist Church South, established at Corvallis, has been transferred to the State and the United States, as the Agricultural College, founded in 1862, and chartered in 1868. The institution of the Christian Church, established by T. F. Campbell at Monmouth, has become the State Normal School; the University of Oregon, founded in 1872, chartered in 1876, was the natural outcome of a Presbyterian institution, Columbia College, established about 1860, at which, among others, Joaquin Miller received his education. The Central Oregon Normal School at Drain, Douglas County; the Southern Oregon Normal School at Ashland, Jackson County, and the Eastern Oregon Normal School at Weston, have already been mentioned as resulting from institutions already started by the Methodists in these sections.

The system of State education in the district and high schools, cannot be even designated here—so extensive is the organization. It is simply part and parcel of the American system of free education, and results here as everywhere in a citizenship, among which, except for constant immigration from less favored sections, there is no illiteracy. This may be referred in general not only to the idea of popular free education brought by the American immigrants, as opposed to the idea of private family or ecclesiastical education held by the English and Canadian occupants, for the upper classes, and illiteracy for the lower; but also to the liberal provision in the land

laws for a public school fund and universities. This is one of the most conspicuous of the benefits arising from the National Idea as extended to this State.

GOVERNORS

Provisional:—Executive Committee, 1843, David Hill, Alanson Beers, Joseph Gale; 1844, P. G. Stewart, W. J. Bailey, Osborne Russell; 1845, George Abernethy.

Territorial:—Joseph Lane, 1849-'50; Kintzing Pritchett, 1850; John P. Gaines, 1850-'53; Joseph Lane, May 16 to May 19, 1853; George L. Curry, May 19, 1853 to December 2, 1853; John W. Davis, 1853-'54; George L. Curry, 1854-'59.

State:—John Whiteaker, 1859-'62; Addison C. Gibbs, 1862-'66; George L. Woods, 1866-'70; La Fayette Grover, 1870-'77; Stephen F. Chadwick, 1877-'78; W. W. Thayer, 1878-'82; Z. F. Moody, 1882-'86; Sylvester Pennoyer, 1887-'95; William P. Lord, 1895-'99; Theodore T. Geer, 1899-1903; Geo. E. Chamberlain, governor-elect, for term 1903-'07.

George Abernethy, elected to fill the place of governor provided under the reorganization of the Provisional Government in 1845, to take the place of the Executive Committee of three at first provided, held the office two terms, or the whole period of the reorganized government, being elected first in 1845 and reelected in 1846. His election was due in the first case to his position in the Methodist Mis-



AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CORVALLIS, OREGON

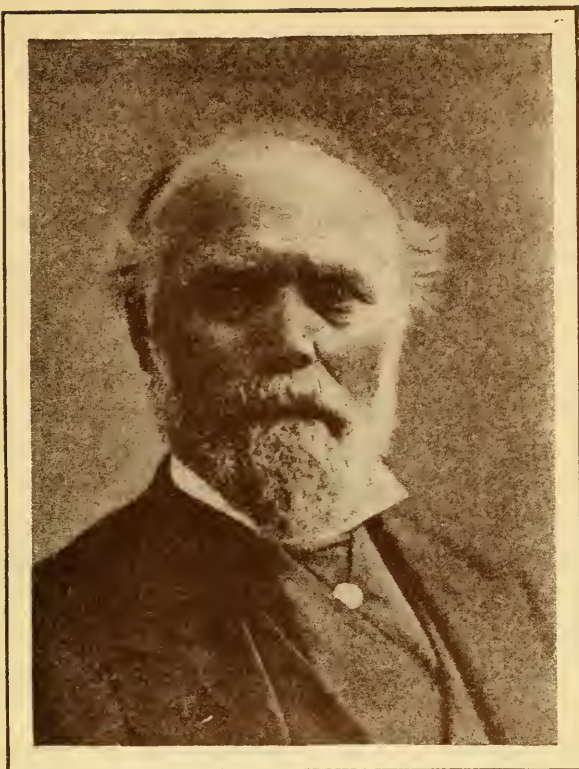
sionary Society, and in the second instance to the action of the Hudson's Bay Company, by whom he was esteemed as more moderate than his opponent. George Abernethy was born in New York City October 8, 1807. His early life was spent in business training, and upon arriving at majority he engaged in mercantile business on his own account. Having failed in the depression of 1837, he engaged with the Methodist Mission to Oregon in 1839, reaching Oregon City in 1840. In 1844, the affairs of the Mission being closed, he entered in private business in merchandise at Oregon City; elected Governor in 1845 and 1846. In the great flood of 1861 much of his property was destroyed. He died at Portland, 1877.

The first actual appointee as Territorial Governor was James Shields, who, however, resigned before assuming any of the duties of his office, in order to take his position as United States Senator from Illinois. James Shields was born in Ireland; coming to America he received an American education and reached positions of influence. Offering his services for the Mexican War he was commissioned general, and gained great distinction. He was appointed Governor of Oregon in 1848 by President Polk, but soon resigned to enter Congress. On the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion he offered his services for the Union and performed heroic service on the battlefield.

The first Territorial Governor in fact was Joseph Lane, of whom many particulars have already been

given. Joseph Lane was born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, December 14, 1801. In 1804 he removed with the family to Kentucky, and in 1816 to Indiana. To the Legislature of the latter State he was elected while so young as to have the appearance of but "a freckled faced boy." Until the age of forty-five he continued to fill a position in one or the other branch of the Indiana State Legislature; following at the same time the business of farmer and country merchant, and being very popular with the country people, and the boatmen of the Ohio River. In 1846 he entered heartily into the support of the Mexican War, raising a regiment and hastening to the assistance of General Taylor, and participating as third in command at the Battle of Buena Vista. Subsequently he was detailed to march to the support of Scott, and as commander of some three thousand troops met and repeatedly defeated the best Mexican generals. He was appointed Governor of Oregon August 18, 1848, by President Polk, and proceeding to Fort Leavenworth crossed the continent the same season, arriving in Oregon in March, 1849. He resigned and was elected Delegate to Congress in 1851; served a few days in 1853 as Governor, was re-elected Delegate continuously until 1859, and in that year as United States Senator, to serve until 1861. In 1860 he was placed in nomination on the Breckenridge ticket as Vice-President; returned to Oregon, living in retirement until his death in 1881.

John P. Gaines, appointed by the Whig adminis-



JOHN WHITEAKER
First State Governor of Oregon.

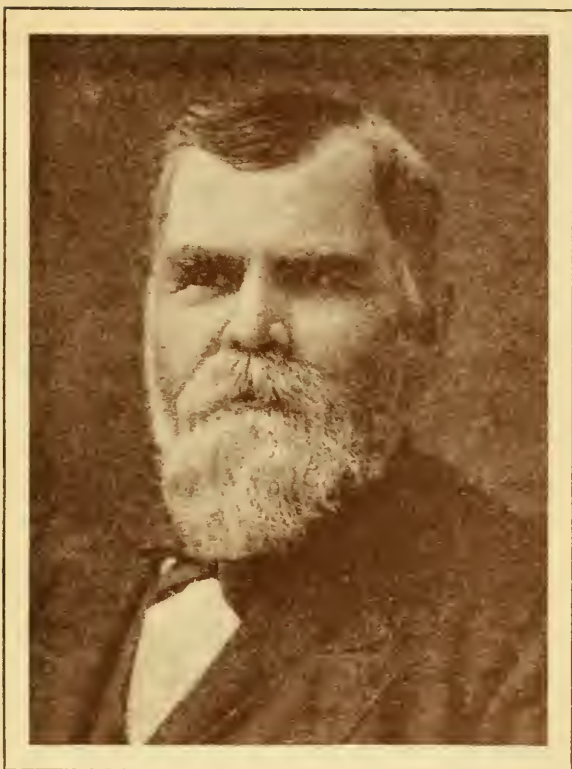
tration following Polk's, was also a Mexican War soldier of distinction. He was born in 1795, served in the War of 1812, after which he studied law and was admitted to the bar of his State, and also served in the State Legislature. He served in the Mexican War, and, returning, was elected as a Whig to the National Congress. In 1850 he was appointed by President Fillmore as Territorial Governor of Oregon. On the way to Oregon by way of Cape Horn he lost two daughters by yellow fever, and in Oregon his wife was killed by an accidental fall from a horse. With the Oregon Legislature Gaines was not in accord, antagonizing them on their assumed power to locate the State capital, and also contending that appropriations made by the General Government should not be expended in a place other than that designated by a federal officer. Soon after his resignation, in 1853, he returned to his native State, where he died in 1858.

Appointed as his successor—the Territorial Secretary, Curry, acting as Governor, with the exception of three days filled by Lane, in the interim—was John W. Davis, of Indiana, also a man of distinction. He was born July 17, 1799, in Pennsylvania; graduated from Baltimore Medical College 1821; removed in 1823 to Indiana, from which State he was elected a number of times to Congress, being Speaker of the House in 1845. He was also an active partisan of the Democratic party, and was chairman of the Democratic National Democratic Convention nominating

Pierce for President. He served as commissioner to China in 1848-'50. In 1853 he was appointed Territorial Governor of Oregon, but did not find the office entirely congenial. He was very careful to give no offense to the Oregon Legislature, and was even diffident in presenting his measures. Having spent the greater part of his life in official or diplomatic service he was of a colder manner and more reserved bearing than was liked by Western people. He resigned in 1854, and returned to his own State, Indiana, where he died in 1859.

George Law Curry, whose services to the Territory have already been noticed, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 2, 1820. In 1824, with his father's family, he removed to Virginia; in 1831 went to Boston, becoming engaged in newspaper and literary work. In 1844 came to St. Louis, and in 1846 to Oregon. He soon assumed editorial charge of the *Spectator*, and in 1848 started the first weekly, the *Oregon Free Press*. In 1851 he was acting Territorial Secretary, a position to which he was appointed in 1853. In 1854 he was appointed Territorial Governor by President Pierce. His last years were spent in Portland, where he died in 1878. With Curry the Territorial Government of Oregon ended, being superseded by the State Government.

Upon adoption of a State constitution in 1858 an election was held, by which John Whiteaker received the majority; being strongly Democratic. Whiteaker was a man of the people, making a striking con-



ADDISON C. GIBBS
Governor of Oregon from 1862-1866.

trast with the distinguished and educated men who were his predecessors; but he was loyal to the Union, and possessed of strong native sense. He was born in Pennsylvania, May 4, 1820. He removed in early life to Indiana and Missouri, being married in the latter State. He came to California in 1849, returning after a time for his family, and returned to the Pacific Coast, in 1851, coming to Oregon and settling in Lane County. In 1857 he was elected probate judge; and in 1858 as Governor. In 1878 he again entered State politics—meanwhile for a number of terms serving in the State Legislature—and was elected Congressman on the Democratic ticket. He attained the age of eighty years, dying at his home in Eugene, in 1902.

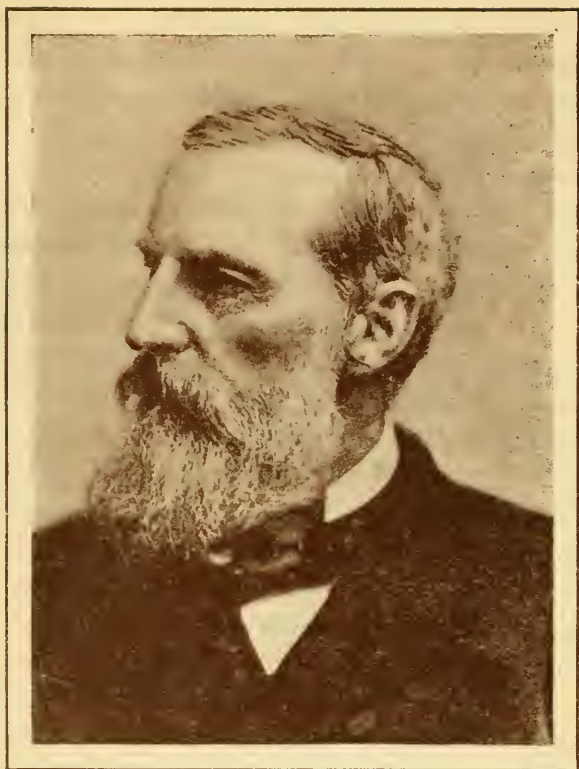
With the war period politics suffered a revolution, as already noticed. The Lincoln Republicans and the Douglas Democrats united under the name of Union party, and elected Addison Crandall Gibbs. Governor Gibbs was born in Cattaraugus County, N. Y.; admitted to the bar in 1851; soon after this came to California, and from this city to the mouth of the Umpqua, and was soon invested with the office of Collector of Customs of the Umpqua District, at Gardiner; elected Governor in 1862. His last years were spent in business, and his death occurred at London in 1886.

The Republicans prevailed again in 1866, electing George Lemuel Woods as successor to Gibbs. This distinguished orator, who won an enviable reputation

as a stump speaker in National as well as State campaigning, was born in western Missouri in 1832; in 1847 came to Oregon—along with the family—and reaching manhood here was chiefly indebted to his own exertions for an education. His first prominence politically was in 1863, when he became judge of Wasco County. In 1866 he was elected Governor of the State. In 1871 he received from President Grant appointment as Territorial Governor of Utah. He died in 1890 at Portland.

In 1870 the Democrats were successful, electing La Fayette Grover as successor to Woods. Governor Grover was born at Bethel, Me., November 29, 1823; was educated at Bowdoin College, and admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1850. Soon came to Oregon and served several terms in the Territorial Legislature. He was elected first Representative to Congress in 1858. He was elected Governor 1870, and reelected in 1874; before his last term expired he resigned to take his place in the United States Senate, to which he had been elected in 1877.

Stephen Fowler Chadwick, Secretary of State, became in consequence the successor of Grover, filling the seat 1877-'79. Governor Chadwick was born in Middletown, Conn., December 25, 1825; came to Oregon 1850. A man of fine presence, versatile abilities and popular qualities of a high order he filled many positions requiring trained abilities. In 1864 and again in 1868 he was Presidential Elector and personally visited Washington. He died in June, 1895.



LAFAYETTE F. GROVER

Governor of Oregon from 1870-1877 and United States Senator from 1877-1883.



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The election of 1878 again gave the office of Governor to the Democrats, William Wallace Thayer being the successful candidate. Governor Thayer was born at Lima, N. Y., July 15, 1827. Choosing the legal profession he was admitted to the New York bar in 1851; came to Oregon in 1862; in 1866 was elected District Attorney of the Third Judicial District; elected Governor in 1878, and reelected in 1884; and in 1890 was elected Supreme Judge.

This long incumbency of Democratic governors was interrupted by the election in 1882 of Zenas Ferry Moody. Governor Moody was born in Hampshire County, Mass., and came to Oregon in 1851. He was appointed in 1856 inspector of United States surveys in California. He soon returned to Oregon and was engaged in business at The Dalles and at Pendleton. In 1880 he was elected to the State Legislature, becoming Speaker of the House; and Governor on the Republican ticket two years later.

In 1886 the position returned, as it proved for two terms, to the Democrats, Sylvester Pennoyer being the successful candidate. Governor Pennoyer was born at Groton, N. Y., July 6, 1831. Graduated at Harvard Law School in 1854, and in 1855 came to Oregon. He spent his first years in the Territory and State in teaching, in the prosecution of a lumber business at Portland, and, in 1868 to 1871 editing the *Oregon Herald*, the leading Democratic State paper. He became known as a warm supporter of the agitation against Chinese labor, and in general as the

champion of the cause of the workingmen. To this he owed his election in 1886, and again in 1890. Governor Pennoyer probably acquired a greater general reputation, and was better known throughout the nation than any other State Governor of Oregon.

In 1894 the administration again returned to the Republicans, the successful candidate being William Paine Lord. Governor Lord brought to bear greater acquirements and a larger sum of previous service, perhaps, than any predecessor. He was born in Dover, Del., in 1839; was a graduate of Fairfield College in 1860; and upon the outbreak of the Rebellion entered the Union army, becoming captain and major. Continuing in the service as lieutenant in the second artillery, he was stationed at Alcatraz and at Steilacoom. Returning to civil life he entered upon practice of his profession at Salem, becoming in 1870 city attorney. In 1878 he was State Senator; in 1880 elected Justice of the Oregon Supreme Court, and in 1884, and again in 1888, reëlected to the same position. In 1894 he was elected Governor. Since completion of his term he has been engaged in United States diplomatic service.

Republican ascendancy was maintained in 1898, Theodore T. Geer being elected by an overwhelming majority, testifying to the popularity of the course of President McKinley, and of the support rendered by the Republican administration in Oregon. Governor Geer has also many claims as a native son of Oregon. Governor Geer was born within seven miles

of Salem in the beautiful country known as the Waldo Hills, in the year 1851. His election as Governor, the first to this office of a native-born Oregonian, fittingly marks an era in the social and political development of the country. He has been closely identified with political matters, being known as a stalwart Republican, and often represented his county in the Legislature, being Speaker of the House in the session of 1891. Although an agriculturist, and having spent no small part of his life actively farming, he has given close attention to public matters, has been a well-known contributor to newspaper discussions of the day, and has gained distinction as a public speaker.

By the election of 1902 the Democratic party again obtained the State administration, electing George E. Chamberlain over the Republican candidate, although the other State officers, as in many like cases previously, remained Republican. Governor-elect Chamberlain was born at Natchez, Miss., January 1, 1854. In 1876 was graduated from Washington and Lee University, and soon after came to Oregon. He occupied successively responsible public positions—Deputy Clerk of Linn County in 1879; 1880, member of the State Legislature; in 1884, District-Attorney of the Third Judicial District; appointed Attorney-General of the State in 1891, and elected to the same position in 1892; in 1898, Prosecuting Attorney of Multnomah County, and Governor-elect in 1902. This remarkable career of uninterrupted success has

in almost every instance been in face of majorities usually Republican.

As indicated by the choice of governors the people of Oregon have in local matters been ordinarily Democratic—in the sense that the first settlers of the State were Democratic, strong believers in local self-government, jealous of their privileges, anxious to safeguard the interests of the common people and workingmen, constitutionally unfriendly to corporate power and monopoly, and strongly infected with race feelings. This has been the prevailing temper, except at times of great public danger, when the national sentiment easily took precedence of all others; giving Gibbs and Woods overwhelming majorities in 1862 and 1866; and in 1894, after a period of but a single Republican administration in twenty-five years, returning the State administration to the Republican ranks as national questions again became paramount; and giving Geer an overwhelming majority on the question of sustaining the national arms in the Spanish-American War; but, so soon as this period of stress subsided, showing a preference for the Democratic interpretation of local necessities.

UNITED STATES SENATORS

Delazon Smith, February-March, 1859; Joseph Lane, February, 1859—March, 1861; Edward Dickinson Baker, March, 1861—October 21, 1861; Benjamin Stark, October 21, 1861—September 11, 1862;



DELAZON SMITH

United States Senator from Oregon, 1859.

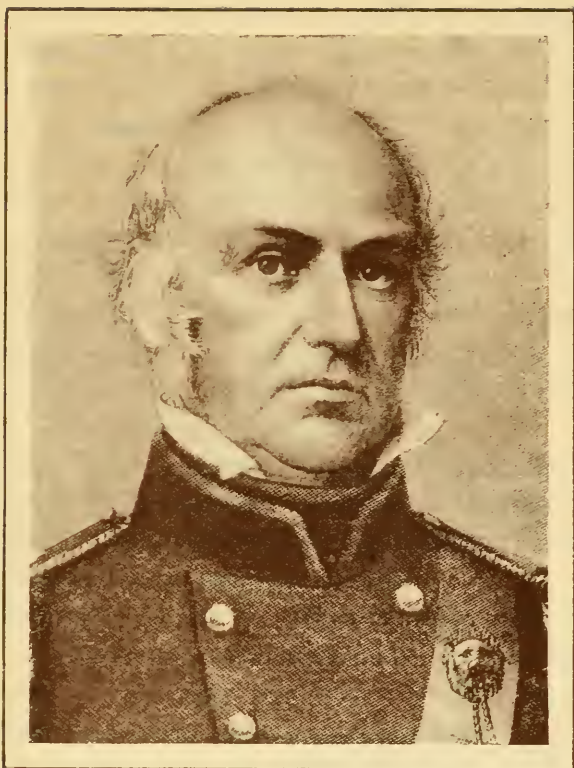
Benjamin F. Harding, September 11, 1862—March 3, 1865; James W. Nesmith, March, 1861—1867; George H. Williams, 1865—1871; Henry W. Corbett, 1867—1873; James K. Kelly, 1871—1877; John H. Mitchell, 1873—1879; 1885—1897, 1901—La Fayette Grover, 1877—1883; James H. Slater, 1879—1885; Joseph N. Dolph, 1883—1895; George W. McBride, 1895—1901; Joseph Simon, 1898—1903.

As already stated more at length, the result of the election of senators in 1859 gave the positions to the Democratic party; Joseph Lane and Delazon Smith being chosen without opposition. Smith drew the short term, and Lane the longer. Smith's term was left vacant, and remained unfilled until the close of Lane's term. In this manner it happened that the two places were to be filled at the same session of the Oregon Legislature in 1860—1861.

At this election, as related, the Douglas, or Union, Democrats united with the Republicans, and it was agreed to give the shorter term to Colonel Baker, and the longer to Colonel Nesmith. Of Colonel Nesmith the particulars and biographical notice, as in the case of General Lane, have already been given.

Edward Dickinson Baker was born in England near the beginning of the century and came to America when but a child of five years. He was employed as a weaver in Philadelphia, but removing while still young to Illinois, undertook study of law at Springfield. Entering the political arena he was elected on the Whig ticket as Representative to Con-

gress. On the outbreak of the Mexican War he raised a regiment, and upon the disability of Shields at Cerro Gordo became commander of the brigade. Finishing out his term in the House of Representatives he went in 1850 to Panama on business, where he contracted the Panama fever, and after a return to the States came, in 1851, to California. Here he engaged in State politics, but not securing the position desired came, in 1859, to Oregon; being elected the next year as United States Senator. Although undoubtedly possessed of high personal ambition, and seeking to exercise his brilliant abilities in the National field, it is gratifying that he was able to take a leading position. It has been said of Baker, "He there distinguished himself as one of the firmest and loftiest patriots in the Senate and proved himself the most effective orator of that body." The most noted speeches delivered by him comprise that at Springfield soon after his entrance on the Mexican War, as he appeared dressed in his army uniform; that over the dead body of Broderick in California; and that in Union Park, New York, April 20, 1861. As a specimen of the style of Baker's oratory and of his sentiment at this time the closing words of this speech are given here: "And if from the far Pacific a voice feebler than the feeblest murmur on its shore may be heard to give you courage and hope in the conflict, that voice is yours to-day; and if a man whose hair is gray, who is well-nigh worn out in the battle and toil of life, may pledge himself on



COLONEL EDWARD D. BAKER

United States Senator from Oregon, 1860-1861.

such an occasion and in such an audience, let me say as my last word that when amid sheeted fire and flame I saw and led the hosts of New York as they charged in contest for the honor of your flag; so again, if Providence shall will it, this feeble hand shall draw a sword never yet dishonored—not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land, but to fight for country, for home, for law, for right, for freedom, for humanity; and in the hope that wherever the banner waves there glory may pursue and freedom be established.” Baker fell at Ball’s Bluff, October 4, 1861, pierced by six bullets.

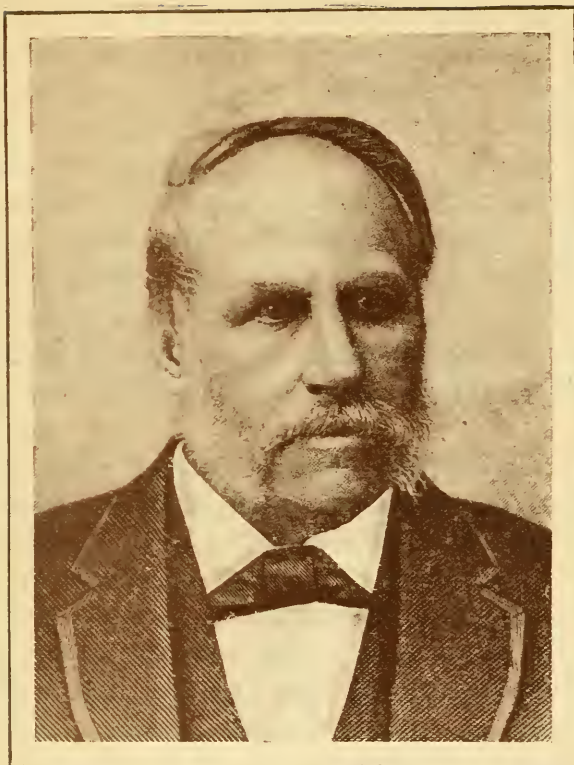
The course of Senator Nesmith throughout his term was highly patriotic, giving full support to President Lincoln, and performing valuable services on the committee on military affairs.

As successor to fill out Baker’s term Benjamin Stark, a Democrat, was appointed by Governor Whiteaker. Whiteaker was not a disunionist, nor was Stark, and, after some suggestion that he be refused the position he was quietly admitted. Senator Stark was born in New Orleans, January 26, 1822. He was educated at New London (Conn.) Academy, and in 1845 came as supercargo on the bark “Toulon” to Oregon. He was admitted to the Oregon bar in 1850, and in 1861 was appointed to the place left vacant by Baker.

The successor of Stark was B. F. Harding, a Union man, who is credited with a leading part in forming the combination that brought about the election of

Nesmith and Baker. Senator Harding was born in Pennsylvania in 1828. He came to Oregon in 1849; studied law, and settled at Salem. He took a prominent part in local politics, frequently serving in the Territorial or State Legislature.

In 1864 this greatly broken term came to an end, and was reduced to regularity by the election of George H. Williams. Senator Williams, although not possessed of the fire and magnetism of Baker, was a convincing speaker and a cool and careful judge of men and policies. With his election to the Senate he entered upon a national career that continued for more than ten years. Senator Williams was born at New Lebanon, N. Y., March 26, 1823. At the age of twenty-one years was admitted to practice before the New York bar. In 1844 he removed to Iowa, and in 1847 was elected judge. In 1852 as nominee for Presidential Elector-at-large he canvassed the State for Pierce. In 1853 was appointed Chief Justice of Oregon Territory; and again in 1857. In 1864 was elected on the Union ticket as United States Senator. In 1871 was appointed on the Joint Commission to settle with England the Alabama claims, and the Northwest boundary, in dispute as to the islands of San Juan. In the latter case he took especial interest, securing the proviso, when it was referred to the decision of Emperor William of Germany, that settlement must be made in accordance with the intention of the original treaty. In 1871 he was also appointed Attorney-



GEORGE H. WILLIAMS

United States Senator from Oregon, 1865-1871.

General in the cabinet of President Grant. In 1874 he was nominated by the President for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Opposition of a personal character and the indisposition of the eastern Senators to allow so great an honor to go to a section so young as the Pacific Coast promised a bitter controversy, and although contrary to the wishes of Grant it was decided by Senator Williams to withdraw his name in the interest of harmony. Returning to Oregon he has made Portland his home, and is at the present time serving a term as Mayor of the city.

Succeeding Senator Nesmith, Henry W. Corbett was elected in 1866. Senator Corbett was born at Westborough, Mass., February 18, 1827; was educated at Cambridge Academy; removing to New York City secured a situation as clerk in a dry goods house, and in 1850 was able to bring out on his own account a stock of merchandise and set up in business at Portland, arriving March 4, 1851. He here laid the foundation of the large hardware business of Corbett, Failing & Co. In the struggle arising from the withdrawal from the Union of the Southern States, he took the ground that they must be coerced into submission to the National authority, differing from some such Republican exponents as the *New York Tribune*. Upon taking his seat in the Senate he became identified with the Republican reconstruction and financial and protective policy, which prevailed, even against President Johnson. Returning

to Portland Senator Corbett has been engaged in wholesale business, banking, and real estate improvement, erecting many handsome business blocks. He is one of the leading promoters of, and most generous contributor to, the Centennial Celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, being president of the commissioners and of the association.

Succeeding to the expired term of Senator Williams, who entered the President's cabinet, James Kerr Kelly was elected as the choice of the Democratic majority in the Legislature—a political situation which had already placed the State government in the hands of the conservative element. The period of railroad building, administered necessarily through the majority party, which was Republican, was looked upon as somewhat too “rapid”—and in some respects justly so—by many of the staid Oregonians. The introduction of Chinese laborers, the first real taste Oregon had had of a semi-servile labor, acted to alarm white workingmen, who saw in this a force to lower their own large wages, which had heretofore sufficed to place them in a short time in independent circumstances. Senator Kelly was born in Centre County, Pennsylvania, in 1819; graduated from Princeton College in 1839, and was admitted to the bar of his State a few years later. In 1849 he came to California by way of Vera Cruz and across Mexico; and in 1851 came to the mouth of the Columbia, stopping first at Pacific City (near Ilwaco), but later in the year coming to Oregon City. With

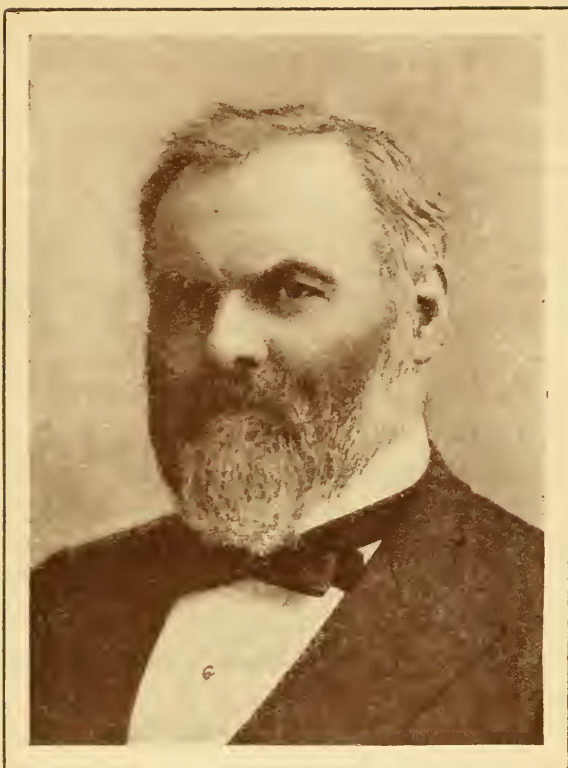
R. P. Boise and David R. Bigelow he was engaged in preparing the Oregon Code in 1852-1853; and served also in the Territorial Assembly. On the outbreak of the Indian War he raised a company of mounted volunteers, and was elected lieutenant-colonel, and on Gilliam's death, colonel. In 1857 he was member of the Constitutional Convention; from 1860 to 1864 served in the State Senate; suffered defeat as Congressman and Governor, and was elected United States Senator in 1870. He was appointed member of the reorganized Oregon Supreme Court in 1878. Removed to Washington, D. C., in 1890.

Succeeding to the expired term of H. W. Corbett John H. Mitchell was elected by the reunited factions of the Republicans; serving one term; was elected again in 1884, and again returned to the United States Senate for another term, making a service of eighteen years; and in 1901 was elected once more, thus making upon expiration of his present term a complete service of almost a quarter of a century for this State at Washington. Mr. Mitchell acquired prominence as the attorney of Ben. Holladay, and later as attorney for large railroad companies. Yet while identified with corporation interests he gained great influence with the people as a promoter of government improvements; a harbor of refuge—which was not prosecuted to completion—the Cascade Canal and Locks, opening navigation to The Dalles on the Columbia, the Jetty at the mouth of the Colum-

bia, and many Federal buildings in the State, and coast improvements at Coos Bay, Yaquina, Coquille, and other points being monuments of his activity. Politically he has usually been able to effect a combination of his personal following in the Republican party with the Democratic minority. Senator Mitchell was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1835; studied and practiced law in that State, and later came to California. In 1860 he arrived at Portland, continuing in active practice, becoming corporation attorney of the city in 1861; served four years in the State Senate, being for two years president of the body. He was candidate for United States Senate in 1866, but not elected until the next round, in 1873; serving from that time very conspicuously and advantageously to the State, as mentioned.

La Fayette Grover was elected in 1879, thus taking the seat of Senator Mitchell. This Democratic success was no indication of a return of the State to sympathy with the faction that promulgated and promoted rebellion, but was rather a sign of the rising interest in labor questions, which largely took the form in the first instance on this coast as anti-Chinese agitation, and placed Sylvester Pennoyer in the gubernatorial office.

Following Senator Kelly was another prominent Democratic exponent, James Harvey Slater, a gentleman of much intelligence, though not a striking national figure. Senator Slater was born in Sangamon



JAMES H. SLATER

United States Senator from Oregon, 1879-1885.

County, Ill., in 1826. He came to California in 1849 and the next year to Oregon. There he first taught school; in 1853 was appointed clerk of the United States District Court, and the next year was admitted to practice of law in this State. He served several terms in the Territorial Legislature, and was member of the first State Legislature. From '59 to '61 he published the *Oregon Weekly Union*, at Corvallis, where he also served as postmaster. The policy of his paper was strongly Democratic. In '62 he removed to Union County, Baker City, where he practiced law, and in '66 to La Grande; and held the office of district attorney of the Fourth Judicial District. In 1868 he was a successful candidate as elector on the Seymour and Blair ticket, and carried to Washington the ballot. In 1870 he was elected as Representative from Oregon. He was one of the pioneer agriculturists and stockraisers of Eastern Oregon, and a pioneer of the remarkably thrifty community in the lovely Grande Ronde Valley, which now produces beet sugar by the thousands of tons. After finishing his term as senator he retired once more to agricultural life, but was appointed on the State railroad commission, from which he retired in 1889.

Following Senator Grover was Joseph N. Dolph, who was re-elected on the expiration of his term, and thus served twelve years consecutively in the Senate of the United States. The period of Mr. Dolph's senatorship in Congress indicated greater unity than

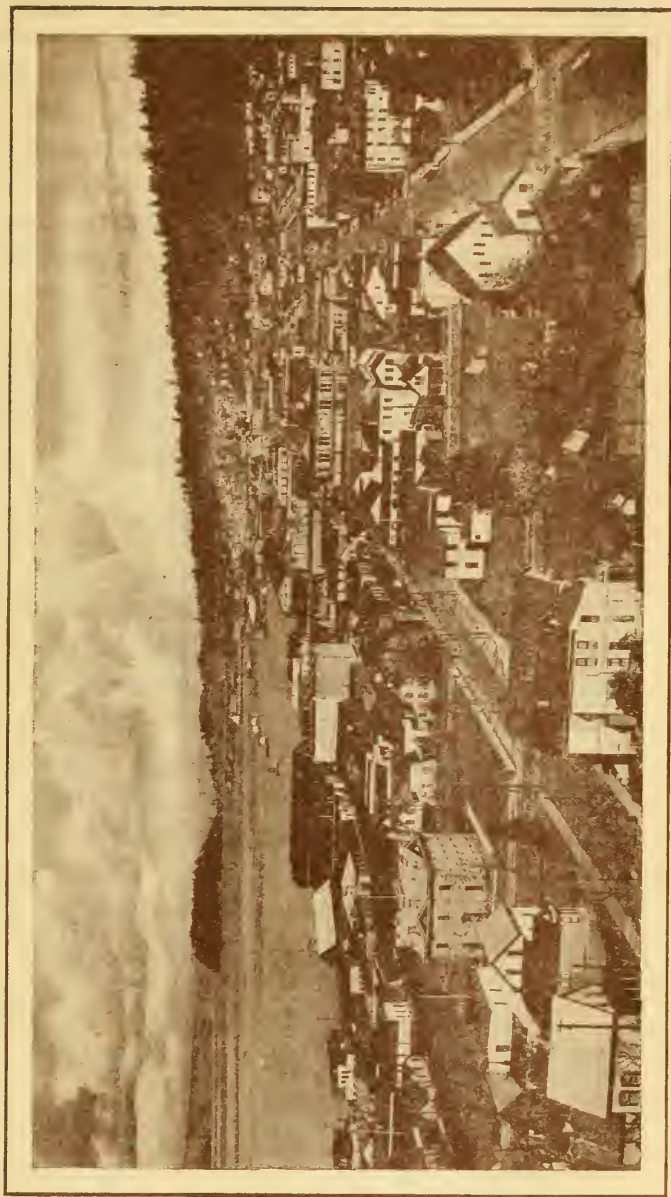
common among the Oregon Republicans, and was contemporaneous with the second great railroad and development period of this State. Being in accord with the leading national party he was able to secure attention and appropriations that were not possible for one connected with the opposition, for the benefit of his State. Senator Dolph was born in Tompkins County, New York, in 1835; was educated at Wesleyan Seminary, and became a school teacher; studying law as opportunity afforded; was admitted to the bar in 1861, and practiced in Schuyler County. In 1862 he joined the company known as the "Oregon Escort," being a body sent out by act of Congress to guard the emigrant route. In the fall of the same year he settled at Portland; in 1864 was elected city attorney and was also appointed by President Lincoln as United States District Attorney. In 1866 he was elected State Senator, and was a member until 1874. During this time he became a party leader, and his election as senator was "logical." He has been described as "a man of fine bearing and public appearance, and stood very high in the legal profession of his State, and was a statesman of national reputation." The period of "Dolph and Mitchell in the Senate" will always be regarded, as probably next to that of Nesmith, Williams and Corbett, marking the time of greatest State influence at the capital as yet enjoyed by Oregon.

Upon the retirement of Dolph in 1895, George Wickliff McBride became the choice of the Republi-

can majority, in the Oregon Legislature, for United States Senator. Senator McBride has the honor first among the native sons of this State, to fill the place of senator at Washington. He was already well known in the State as a public officer, having served two terms as Secretary of State, and also as State Representative and Speaker of the House in 1882. Personally he has ever been a man of much popularity, strict probity, and exact and painstaking business methods. Politically he belonged rather to the conservative wing of his party, and thus became a formidable "dark horse" just as the session was closing after an unusually bitter senatorial battle. He was born in 1854, in Yamhill County; the youngest son of Dr. James McBride, a pioneer of 1846. His eldest son, John R. McBride, the successful candidate on the Union ticket for Congress in 1862. The family of James McBride has been justly regarded as one of the most distinguished and able in the State; Thomas A. McBride, judge of the Fifth Judicial District, being a brother of the senator. George W., the senator, was educated at Willamette University, and studied law, but did not engage in active professional work. He undertook business at St. Helens, Columbia County; but was soon called into political life, with the results as indicated.

As successor to the seat of Senator Mitchell at the expiration of his third term, Joseph Simon was the successful contestant. Mr. Simon's term, however,

has been of but five years' duration, his election not taking place until October of 1898. This was owing to a legislative "hold-up," at the regular time for the election. No one was elected—the House indeed refusing to organize; and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Hon. H. W. Corbett, by the Governor. This solution, which would have given full satisfaction to the business interests and a large proportion of the people of the State, was not allowed to reach consummation; the United States Senate, being sole judge of elections to that body, concluding that as no senator had been elected it was the expressed desire of the Legislature that the seat be vacant. It was doubted, too, whether a precedent prejudicial to senatorial traditions might not thus be created, and the Republican majority, although very friendly to ex-Senator Corbett, felt constrained to negative the action of the Oregon executive. Joseph Simon was born in Germany in 1851, but came as a mere child with his father's family, direct to Portland in 1857. He received his education at the Portland public schools, and his proficiency in the substantial of life reflects credit upon the exact methods there inculcated. Studying law in the office of Mitchell and Dolph, Mr. Simon was admitted duly to the bar of this State, and became one of the well-known legal firm of Dolph, Mallory & Simon. Entering municipal politics he held numerous offices from 1877 to 1886. In the latter year he entered State politics, and becoming member from Mult-



ASTORIA, 1900

View looking East; showing river front and part of the town.

nomah County of the State Senate, he was elected president of that body in 1889 and in 1895. At the latter session the House failed to organize; and at a special session of 1898 Mr. Simon was for the fifth time elected president. At this session he was elected United States Senator for the remainder of the term.

DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates:—Samuel R. Thurston, June, 1849—April, 1851; Joseph Lane, June, 1851—March, 1859.

State Representatives:—La Fayette Grover, Democrat, February, 1859—March, 1859; Lansing Stout, Democrat, March, 1859—March, 1861; George K. Shiel, Democrat, March, 1861—March, 1863; John R. McBride, Republican, March, 1863—March, 1865; J. H. D. Henderson, Republican, 1865—1867; Rufus Mallory, Republican, 1865—1867; Joseph S. Smith, Democrat, 1869—1871; James H. Slater, Democrat, 1871—1873; Joseph G. Wilson, Republican, 1873 (died before assuming office); J. W. Nesmith, Democrat, 1873—1875; George A. La Dow, Democrat, elected in 1875 (died in office); La Fayette Lane, Democrat, October 25th, 1875—1877; Richard Williams, Republican 1877—1879; John Whiteaker, Democrat, 1879—1881; M. C. George, Republican, 1883—1885; Binger Hermann, Republican, six terms, covering 1883 to 1895; W. R. Ellis, Republican, two terms, covering 1893 to March, 1897; Thomas H. Tongue,* Republican, three terms, March,

* Died January, 1903.

1897 to March, 1903; Malcolm A. Moody, two terms, March, 1899 to March, 1903.

Samuel R. Thurston, the first duly elected delegate to Congress, was born in Maine, in 1816; educated at Bowdoin College, and studying law was admitted to practice in his native State. He early removed to Iowa, and for two years edited the *Burlington Gazette*; crossed the plains to Oregon, and entered politics as a Democratic party leader. He opposed the Hudson's Bay Company, and made himself especially obnoxious to Dr. McLoughlin, whom he is accused of persecuting under a spirit of denominational zeal. From Washington he indulged his natural journalistic penchant, and kept the Oregon people fully informed of affairs at the capital through the columns of the *Spectator*. He was a man of marked personality, strong opinions, broad and positive ideas. As in all the first circles of political life in the State his partisan zeal often proved too great for the easy and agreeable movement of personal relations; yet many of the present conditions in Oregon may be traced to his energetic measures. His death occurred at sea, between Panama and Acapulco, as he was returning to Oregon from serving his first term; the body being buried at Acapulco, but afterward exhumed and re-interred at Salem, pursuant to a special act of the Legislature. On the monument marking the site of the grave the following has been inscribed as a public estimate of his life and character: "Here rests Oregon's first delegate, a man

of genius and learning, a lawyer and statesman, his Christian virtues equaled by his wide philanthropy. His public acts are his best eulogium."

Of the second delegate, Joseph Lane, and the reasons for his long service, a full account has already been given. The First State Representative, La Fayette Grover was elected at that time, as later, on account of his careful middle course and just reputation for coolness and sagacity. He represented at every time he entered politics successfully a changing period when the voters wished a change yet desired to make haste slowly.

Lansing Stout was born in New York State in 1828. His early opportunities were limited, but undertaking self-education by educating others, he became a teacher and a school superintendent; and also studied law. He came to California in 1851, and in 1856 was elected to the Legislature of that State; came to Oregon in 1857, and in 1858 was elected judge of Multnomah County. He was also chosen Congressman pending the admission of the State, and taking his seat in 1859 served until 1861, the end of that Congress, succeeding Grover, who filled but the short term. In Congress he served on many important committees, one of which was that one of thirty-three on rebellious States.

Colonel George K. Shiel was elected by a majority of one hundred and four votes over the talented and popular David Logan. The canvass was one of the most exciting in the history of the State, and brought

out great ability on each side. Logan, son of a warm personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and himself a dashing and intensely loyal supporter of the Union, was supported on the stump by Nesmith and Baker, while Shiel was assisted by James K. Kelly and Delazon Smith. Smith was a very effective popular campaigner. At Washington, however, Shiel was in such a minority, where he openly and frankly favored the Confederate cause, that his influence fell to a low degree. His course was also disapproved by the greater part of his constituency in Oregon, but upon his return he only emphasized his position by refusing to take the oath of allegiance required in order to obtain admission to practice of law in this State. He died by accident in Salem, 1893. It has been said of him (Harrison R. Kincaid's Report as Secretary of State, 1898): "He was a unique figure in Oregon history and had many friends who admired his genius and courage, though his life was given up to a stubborn passion."

John Rogers McBride was born in Missouri in 1832, and came to Oregon in 1846. He early took a position for the Union, and was candidate against La Fayette Grover in 1858. At the constitutional convention in 1857 he was the only straight Republican there by election. He became very active in politics during the early war period and as a pronounced radical was nominated and elected by a large majority in 1862. Upon conclusion of his term in Congress he removed to Idaho, became chief jus-

tice there; and at length to Spokane, Wash.; being a radical and stirring figure in each of these young communities.

James H. D. Henderson was also a Republican, being elected as a safe and unswerving supporter of the Union, and a man of sound sober judgment. He was a native of the South, born in Kentucky in 1810. He was a printer by trade; came to Oregon about 1853, and settled in Yamhill County; removing later to Lane County. Here he was devoted to education and religious work, and entered politics as the need became apparent that men of his standing should take a decided position. He retired to his home life after serving his term, and died at Eugene in 1885. It has been said of him: "He was one of those honorable, devout men whose word was as good as his bond, and his life was an entire success when judged from the standpoint of a Christian citizen, statesman and neighbor."

Rufus Mallory, elected as the war period was closing, was born in New York State in 1831. He began the study of law at the age of twenty; went to Iowa; came to Oregon in 1858, and settled at Roseburg and was admitted to the bar in 1860. He early took sides for the Union, and served in the State Legislature, and as district attorney. In 1874, continuing a leader in the Republican party, he was appointed United States district attorney for Oregon, and was reappointed in 1878. He has held prominent positions in party conventions and has enjoyed a large

and lucrative law practice in Portland for many years.

The swing to the Democratic—or the new Democratic Workingmen's party, and period of political indifference—was indicated by the election of Joseph S. Smith on the Democratic ticket in 1868. Smith was an early immigrant, having come to Oregon in 1847, and was a local preacher of the Methodist Church. He studied law, however, and also began large industrial enterprises; being in 1864 a leading promoter and stockholder of the Salem woolen mills. Of James H. Slater some account has already been given.

Joseph G. Wilson, elected on the Republican ticket, was a native of New Hampshire, born in 1826, and was graduated from Marietta College, Ohio, in 1846. He came to Oregon and practiced law at Salem, 1852, and was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court the same year. Receiving appointment in 1862, and election in 1864 as judge of the Fifth Judicial District, residing at The Dalles, he became very popular, and although in a period of indifference, received a large majority. This was chiefly a personal triumph; as he was very highly esteemed and would have attained a high position had his life not been prematurely terminated, even before taking his seat in Congress.

The success of ex-Senator Nesmith, who was elected at a special election, returned the place of Oregon to its then normal democratic position, which

presented a united opposition to the really numerically greater but much divided Republicans.

George La Dow, a representative man of Eastern Oregon, succeeding Nesmith, died before qualifying, and the continued position of the popular seat was indicated by the election of La Fayette Lane at a special election. This was a son of Governor Lane, who was born in Indiana in 1842; was educated at Washington City and in Connecticut, and removing to Oregon was admitted to the bar and engaged in practice of his profession. Residing in Umatilla County he was elected a member of the State Legislature in 1864. His ability as a lawyer was recognized by his appointment to compile the Oregon code, which was done jointly with Judge M. P. Deady. After serving one term Lane was nominated again, but defeated by Williams. His death occurred in 1896 at Roseburg.

Richard Williams was born in Ohio in 1836, and came to Oregon in 1851; was educated at Willamette University, and was admitted to practice law, studying at Corvallis in 1866. He was associated with Mallory, and with W. Lair Hill, and W. W. Thayer, at various times, in practice of law in Portland. He was elected Congressman in 1876.

Ex-Governor John Whiteaker, however, the Democratic candidate, returned the seat once more to the old column.

In 1881, however, the new business interests, taking form with the period of renewed railroad con-

struction, were quickly manifested in a changed political situation, and from that day to this, more than twenty years, Oregon has kept a Republican representation in the National Congress. Melvin C. George, the successful candidate, was born in Ohio, 1849. He came as a child with his parents to Oregon and has grown with the country. He began study of law in connection with work as journalist. Making his home in Portland he became State senator in 1876, and acquired a popularity that promoted him to Congress, and which upon expiration of his first term gave him a second. Since his return to Portland he has been closely identified with business, political and professional concerns, and has held positions on the bench almost continuously. Being still in the prime of life, he is justly esteemed one of the most influential men of the State.

Succeeding to Judge George was Binger Hermann, who held the position for the phenomenal period of six consecutive terms. This record, aside from its personal bearings, indicates that by this time the people of Oregon had become well settled to an industrial era, and that they valued a somewhat steady and easily calculable policy in Congress—upon which they must base their business and investments. This has led to a somewhat plain, uneventful and conservative situation; the benefits of which seem to overbalance the evils, and have made the voices of reformers still as those crying in the wilderness. Indeed, all but the most impatient no longer

seek, or even expect improvement by the revolutionary methods of catastrophe, but by the slower and less noticeable, but still more potent operation, or co-operation, of a multitude of almost infinitesimal, or imperceptible, changes, such as in physical life are spoken of as growth; and in the aggregate constitute evolution—which is as universal in its applications as the atmospheric influences, and as irresistible as sunlight. The industrial period, which the vastly increasing use of natural agencies as power is every day installing more firmly, is pre-eminently that of growth, as the military ages have been of cataclysm.

Congressman, now General Land Commissioner, Hermann was born in Alleghany County, Maryland, in 1843; received his education in the common schools and at the Independent Academy, near Baltimore; and removing to Oregon began his career here as a school teacher. Studying law he was admitted to the bar in 1866, and entering politics has held continuously elective or appointive offices. No man has been more carefully self-trained for public service, or has honored more the profession of public servant. In the positions respectively of deputy collector of customs for the Southern Oregon district, and receiver of the Roseburg land office he became strongly identified with the interests and needs of the beautiful and enormously naturally rich Southern Oregon country, and his personal following in a section still treasuring the traditions of Lane has been no small

source of his political strength. In 1896 he received the position of general land commissioner at Washington, D. C.*

With William R. Ellis, elected first in 1893, began the régime of two representatives, thus emphasizing the gain of Oregon over the general growth of the nation. He held the office for three terms, representing the second district.

Thomas H. Tongue, who arrived in Oregon as a youth and was educated at Pacific University, whose alumni have, like those of Willamette and other Oregon institutions, taken positions of usefulness in all parts of the world, has represented the first Congressional district since the retirement of Hermann; being now on his third term; and Malcolm A. Moody, a son of Governor Moody, and a popular son and business man of eastern Oregon, now holds a second term as successor to Ellis.

In its later political development Oregon has not shown brilliance, and with the single exception of Sylvester Pennoyer, has indulged little originality, nor tolerated vagaries. It is known as the conservative State of the Pacific Coast, and radical ideas and reformatory persons find small comfort among its people. The sociological value, or the probable historical results of this disposition cannot now be estimated. No doubt the people do, on the whole, possess a discernment of true relations, and are guided by a sense finer than mere inertia. What that future may

* Resigned 1902.

be, however, is probably somewhat different from what either the dreamer or speculator now anticipates.

The character of the people that settled Oregon is well illustrated by the fact that the very first officer was a probate judge. It was, moreover, in strict accordance with evolution of government, as has been noticed, that the judge, or arbitrator of justice between man and man, should appear first; then the legislative body, to express the will of the people themselves as to questions of justice and policy, and finally an executive subordinate to both, to coerce any refractory individuals who might not acquiesce in the wishes of the people as thus expressed. In Oregon there was a distinct interval of time—about two years in each case—between the erection of the several departments of government.

The first judge was Dr. Ira L. Babcock, chosen at a general meeting of the people at the American Mission House, Willamette Valley, February 18th, 1841. Details of this action have already been given. In 1843, upon erection of the Provisional Government, full particulars of which have been given, the most pronounced feature of which was the legislative department, the place of judge was filled by election of W. E. Wilson. In 1845, under the amended code of the Provisional Government, the chief innovation of which was provision of a governor to take place of the Executive Committee, which was in reality but a branch of the Legislature, the judge was no longer

to be elected by the people, but by the Legislature. As a result Nathaniel Ford, of Yamhill County, was elected Supreme Judge by the Assembly; but by the House the honor was bestowed upon Peter H. Burnett, and he took the oath and administered the office until his departure to the gold fields of California in 1847. J. Quinn Thornton was appointed to fill the vacancy, but soon departing for Washington as private Delegate to Congress was succeeded by Columbia Lancaster, who took the oath of office November 13th of that year. On February 13th, 1849, A. L. Lovejoy was elected, but as Oregon was then already under the Territorial Government he held office but a short time, probably to transact a little necessary business pending the arrival of the territorial judges.

Out of the Territorial Court grew both the Oregon Supreme Court and The United States District Court.

The first chief justice of the Territorial Court was William P. Bryant, occupying the bench from 1849 to 1850. He was followed by Thomas Nelson, from 1850 to 1853. The associate judges were Orville C. Pratt and William Strong, notice of whom has already been inserted. Peter H. Burnett was an appointee, but going to California declined the office. From 1853 to 1859, the remainder of the Territorial period, the office of chief justice was filled by George H. Williams. Associate Judges were Matthew P. Deady and Reuben P. Boise.

Under the State constitution the Supreme Court

of the State was to consist of the judges of the several judicial districts, meeting as a body, and the judge whose decision was being reviewed not sitting as chief justice; but otherwise serving in turn. This arrangement lasted until 1878, when a Supreme Court, with judges by election of the people, was established in accordance with a provision of the constitution to take effect after the population numbered one hundred thousand. It is to be noticed in this connection that the judges became elective—the people of Oregon like most of those in the west, preferring that the judiciary be responsible to the electors themselves rather than to their representatives. The judge of the court—consisting of three, each holding a term of six years by ternary elections, each two years apart—next to retire becomes chief justice.

Under these provisions the office of chief justice has been filled by the following: Aaron E. Waite, Democrat, 1859 to 1862; Reuben P. Boise, Republican, 1862 to 1864; also 1868 to 1870; Paine Paige Prim, three times chief justice, as he served on the bench continuously from 1859 to 1880; Erasmus D. Shattuck, Republican, 1866 to 1868; William W. Upton, Republican, 1872 to 1874; B. F. Bonham, 1874 to 1876; James K. Kelly, 1878 to 1880; William Paine Lord, 1880 to 1882 and 1886 to 1888 and 1892 to 1894; Edward B. Watson, 1882 to 1884; John Breckenridge Waldo, 1884 to 1886; William Wallace Thayer, 1888 to 1890; R. S. Strahan, 1890 to 1892; Robert S. Bean, 1894 to 1896; Frank A. Moore, 1896

to 1898; Charles E. Wolverton, 1898 to 1900. The present chief justice is Robert S. Bean, elected 1898.

Of the above, who have not been otherwise noticed biographically, the following brief sketches may be given: Judge Boise was born in Massachusetts, educated at Williams College, admitted to the bar in 1848, and came to Oregon by the Isthmus in 1850; he has been known as an indefatigable worker both on the bench, in law, and in manufacturing and agriculture. Judge Prim was born and raised in Tennessee, and after obtaining his education was admitted to practice law while yet young. In 1851 he arrived in Oregon, settling first in Linn County, then went to Jacksonville, engaging in mining. In 1859 he was appointed associate judge by Governor Whiteaker; and elected thereafter and serving more than twenty years. "In politics Judge Prim has been a conservative Democrat, and was a resident of southern Oregon more than forty-five years, having been one of the pioneers and efficient promoters in all public interests in that part of the State."

Erasmus D. Shattuck was born in Vermont in 1824; he graduated from Vermont University in 1848, and for a number of years was engaged in teaching, not only in his native State, but also in Georgia and Maryland. In 1852 he was admitted in New York to practice law and in 1853 he came by the Isthmus to Oregon. He first took up his profession as teacher, being engaged at Pacific University for a time. In 1857 he began active legal

practice at Portland. He served for many terms on the circuit or city bench, and was known as one of the most sound and sagacious of judges, and as an attorney was conscientious, very successful, and so far studied the interest of his clients as to make his own fees a secondary consideration. It has been said of him: "Judge Shattuck was universally respected for his impartial rulings, and it was with regret that the members of the bar saw him compelled, in the year 1898, on account of failing health and age, to retire from the bench."

William W. Upton was born in New York State. After acquiring a substantial literary and legal education he entered upon general practice in the Western States, coming at length to California, and thence in 1865 to Portland, "and at once," as stated by another writer, "took a place in the front rank of the Oregon bar." Judge Bonham was a native of Tennessee. After receiving a substantial education he began his career as school teacher; arrived in Oregon in 1853, and soon occupied a leading place in law and politics. "Judge Bonham has been one of the active pioneers of this State and has done much to assist in elevating the standard of citizenship by his scrupulous honesty, careful business methods, and carefully written legal opinions." Judge Watson, although born in Iowa came while yet a boy to Oregon, arriving in 1853; and was educated and reached his position in his profession entirely in this State. The capacity of Oregon thus to suitably fill responsi-

ble positions with its own young men has exemplification in the history of the bench as well as legislation and the executive department. Judge Waldo, however, son of Daniel Waldo, pioneer of 1843, whose name has been bestowed most worthily upon the fruitful hills of Marion County in the "Waldo settlement" was the first native son in the Supreme Court. His well-known character and abilities have honored his birthplace to an unusual degree. Judge Strahan was born in Kentucky, came to Oregon in 1865, and settled at Corvallis; he was a noted criminal lawyer, and his bench decisions commanded wide attention. Judge Bean is the second native son who has been elected to the Supreme Court, being a native of Yamhill County, and of a pioneer family that crossed the plains to Oregon in 1852. A further distinction is his record as one of the first alumni of the State University from which he was graduated in 1878. It has been very fittingly remarked of him: "In Judge Bean the young men of Oregon have a constant example of what has been attained by earnest application, temperate habits, industry, honesty and steadfastness of purpose, supplemented in his case perhaps by special aptitude for acquiring legal knowledge—an example of which his native State is deservedly proud."

Judge Moore is a native of Maine, and arrived in Oregon in 1887, beginning law practice at St. Helens, Columbia County, and rapidly rising in his profes-

*H. R. Kincaid.

sion. Judge Wolverton, like Judge Watson, was born in Iowa, and coming to Oregon as a mere child is to all intents and purposes a native son. He made his home in Polk County and was educated under T. F. Campbell, founder of the Christian College, which has since become the Oregon State Normal School.

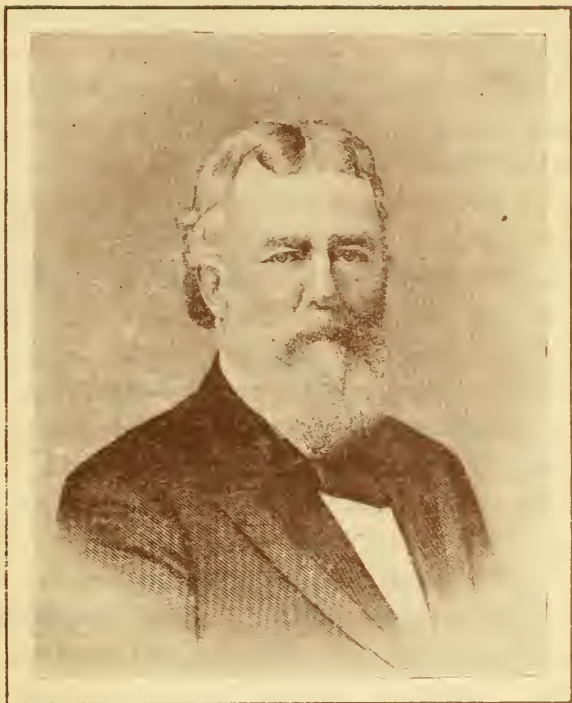
The United States District Court, for the District of Oregon at first embracing also Washington and Idaho, and at one time Alaska, was created upon admission of Oregon as a State, and the first judge of this court was one of the associate judges of the Territorial Supreme Court. This was M. P. Deady—during his whole life in Oregon a conspicuous figure, a conscientious worker for the interests of this State, being correspondent of leading California papers; a student of Oregon history; a promoter of the Portland Library, and a most valuable worker for the cause of education as regent of the State University.

Matthew Paul Deady was born in Maryland in 1824, of Irish and English ancestry. His early life was spent in labor on a farm, and he there, and later in the blacksmith shop, acquired the superb physical development for which he was so well known. After learning his trade, however, he desired a complete education, employing his leisure indeed while in the shop, in study at Barnesville Academy. His native bent was teaching, and this disposition he carried into historical researches and legal practice. While teaching school from 1845 to 1848 he also studied law, and was admitted to practice. In 1849 he came to

Oregon, making his first home at Lafayette, engaging in teaching, and beginning a law practice. His abilities were soon recognized. In 1851 he was elected to the Assembly, and in 1853 was appointed associate judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory, on the bench with Williams, and was assigned to Southern Oregon—a district that has always shown able men. In 1857 he was elected to the Constitutional Convention, of which he became president. The Constitution was greatly molded by his opinions—"his influence was strongly felt in forming the Constitution," as remarked by Bancroft—and it was but a natural step that he should be elevated over all the other eminent men in the State as judge of the United States District Court, then taking up the judicial interests of the Federal Government in this district. His decisions on the bench were of a strong and scholarly character, and he frequently sat as chief justice in the Circuit Court at San Francisco.

Upon his death he was succeeded by Charles B. Bellinger, the present incumbent. As one of the editors of this work Judge Bellinger has expressed the strong desire that no further mention of his name and position be made. However, it seems to the writer and publishers that the work will not be complete, and the readers will feel disappointment, unless this brief account of the judges of this State and District be completed with a few words in regard to his life.

Judge Bellinger is essentially an Oregon man, and



MATTHEW P. DEADY

has in his own career felt to an uncommon degree the limitations imposed by pioneer circumstances in this State; but has also shown the use that might be made of its rare opportunities. He was born November 21, 1839, at Knoxville, Ill., and in 1847, as but a boy of eight years removed with his people to Oregon, coming across the plains. His life therefore covers the entire latter part of the history treated in these pages, and since his arrival, and in his later active life he had seen with his own eyes the growth of this American commonwealth. Upon his arrival his grandfather, John H. Bellinger, and his father, Edward H. Bellinger, were pioneers together, and became well-known residents of Marion County. Edward Bellinger early took an important place in public affairs, but by his premature death not only was the young Territory deprived of a promising citizen, but the son suffered the irreparable loss of a most indulgent father. By this break in the family circle, however, Charles, still a boy, was not deprived of the purpose, already formed, to prepare himself for a useful career in the land of his adoption. He studied at Willamette University, and reading law was admitted to the Oregon bar in 1863, and began active practice at Salem. Entering politics he was elected to the Oregon Legislature in 1868, and seeking a wider field removed in 1870 to Portland, where he has since resided. He here entered the journalistic field, editing for a year the *Daily Evening News*. Being appointed Clerk of the Supreme Court, his spe-

cial aptitude for digest and compilation became apparent as reporter of decisions—a position requiring a certain degree of original imagination coupled with unvarying accuracy. Later he received appointment as Circuit Judge of the State; and upon the death of Judge Deady, received the Federal appointment as United States District Judge for the District of Oregon.

Viewed politically the Bench of Oregon shows a surprisingly large number of Democrats—and this political faith has been apparent in the bias of decisions, giving the Oregon people, on the whole, a body of jurisprudence well reflecting their natural bent toward personal liberty, and individual enterprise.

CHAPTER X

OREGON AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

OREGON has maintained for a number of years a very efficient State militia under the general designation of the Oregon National Guard. This has been considered by good judges as one of the most efficient organizations of its kind, man for man, in the Union. The commander-in-chief, at the time of the Spanish-American War, was, by virtue of his office, Governor Wm. P. Lord, until the accession of Governor-elect T. T. Geer. The Oregon National Guard, in 1898, consisted of two regiments; the First, located in Portland, seven companies; the Second, in the Willamette valley and southern Oregon, eight companies; the Third Battalion, of three companies, in eastern Oregon; and three separate companies; all commanded by Brigadier-General Charles F. Beebe. The colonel of the First Oregon was Owen Summers; of the Second Oregon, G. O. Yoran.

Upon the call, April 28, 1898, by President McKinley, for one regiment, there was an almost instant assemblage of both the First and Second Oregon at the Portland armory—the headquarters of the First Oregon. The only embarrassment or disappointment experienced was that the call had not been for two regiments instead of one. The only practicable way to meet this was adopted by Governor Lord, who ordered a consolidation of the two into one full regiment, selecting the best men in each. This was submitted to cheerfully by the men, but not without dis-

appointment by those left at home. It resulted, however, in forming a regiment of unusually strong and well equipped soldiers. Of this Summers was appointed colonel, and Yoran lieutenant-colonel. Of this company, after the severe duties at Malabon, the German consul at Manila, an authority on military matters, is said to have remarked:

“ I take off my hat to the American soldier.” He had just witnessed the action of the Second Oregon, charging over the field.

It has also been said of this regiment: “ In personnel of officers, enlisted men, in clothing, arms and equipment, the Second Oregon United States Volunteer Infantry had no superiors among the gallant volunteer commands that took part in the Spanish-American War, or the harassing troubles incident to acquisition of Spanish territory.”

Of the officers of this company, Owen Summers, a native of Canada, but soon coming to the United States, was a veteran of the Civil War, having volunteered at fourteen in the Third Illinois. He came to Portland in 1875, was member of the Oregon Veteran Guards 1883, and held numerous positions in the State militia; being also a well-known business man of Portland. George O. Yoran, lieutenant-colonel, came from Iowa, his native State, in 1883; and entering the State militia, earned his promotion. Calvin W. Gantenbein,* major, born in Philadelphia, but coming at an early age to Oregon, entered the ranks in 1891; became lieutenant-colonel in 1897; and was

*Now Adjutant-General.

commissioned major of the Second Oregon 1898. Major Perry Willis was born in Texas, and coming to Oregon in 1871 as a boy, entered the State militia, serving eight years in the Second, and reaching his rank there. Major P. G. Eastwick was born in Boston, and joined Oregon National Guard in 1891. Adjutant E. P. Crowne was born at Fort Walla Walla in 1870, entering the Oregon National Guard in 1887; he reached the rank of lieutenant and adjutant in 1893—and held the same in the war period. M. H. Ellis, major and brigade surgeon, came to Oregon from Ontario in 1884; entered army as surgeon, and was retained with rank of major during the war. Herbert W. Cardwell, who was born in Portland, Ore., in 1867, and was educated at Portland High School and Willamette University, and completed his medical education in New York, was appointed May 7, as chief surgeon on the staff of General Thomas M. Anderson, and of General Lawton, with rank as major. William S. Gilbert, with rank of captain, served through the war as chaplain. Chaplain Gilbert was born at Dayton, Ohio; graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1889, and coming to Oregon became president of Philomath College, near Corvallis; after which he entered the active ministry of the Presbyterian Church, preaching at Eugene. Feeling the necessity of the service of chaplain in the Oregon regiment, he resigned his pastorate, and undertook the arduous duties of a campaign in the tropics; commissioned also as captain and liable to serv-

ice as such in case of necessity. His large-hearted services as chaplain made him the idol of the regiment.

Examination would show an equally clear record for the minor officers, and enlisted men; and illustrates that in case of need the citizens of this State can at once take up arms and perform military duties of a rigorous, and often of the most repugnant nature, and enforce with celerity and efficiency the policy of the Government even at a distance of many thousands of miles. The great majority of the enlisted men were native-born Oregon boys.

Upon mobilization at Portland quarters were made on the east side in a suburb known as Irvington, at Camp McKinley. Here Governor Lord and Adjutant-General Tuttle made frequent inspections and reviews, and encouraged the men in their daily exercises, as they became restive under a delay in call to the front. Two trained nurses, Miss Lena Killian and Miss Frances Wood, were here accepted as volunteers in their specialty. Great interest was manifested by the citizens, and the customary interest in the State political campaign at the time fell to zero. It was fully known that the policy of the Government would be sustained, and there was hardly enough opposition manifested to awaken interest, much less anxiety. One battalion moved May 13th, under Yorran and Gantenbein, and the rest on the 16th, reaching Oakland Pier the 18th. Their trip, performed in very hot weather, was a constant ovation from the

people along the route, and they were fairly loaded with delicacies, and banqueted as if this were the last they would ever eat. Their march through San Francisco was noticed by the city papers, which stated the following morning that "the regiment was the finest appearing that had entered the city, and was also more fully equipped and armed." Both General Merriam and General Otis "complimented the colonel (Summers) on the splendid physique of the men, their equipment and clothing."

On the 25th of May the regiment sailed on the two Government transports "Australia" and "Sidney," accompanied also by the California troops on the "City of Peking." Reaching Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 2d, they were accorded a welcome and hospitality that turned their somewhat tedious voyage—on which a considerable number were sick with measles and nearly all seasick, and many scarcely able to eat the food provided—into a picnic. Besides general public feastings the soldiers were invited to all houses, their uniform being a sufficient passport; and they are credited with no such violation of this unbounded hospitality as that of which the regulars subsequently were guilty. June 20th they reached and took possession of the Island of Guam, the cruiser "Charleston," acting as convoy, entering the harbor and occupying the Spanish fort to the astonishment and chagrin of the commandant, who was politely explaining that he fired but one salute for lack of powder, but trusted offense would

not be taken at so scant welcome. He was not aware of the outbreak of hostilities. The voyage was ended July 1, and the harbor of Manila was entered safely, under escort from the north point of Luzon, some anxiety having been felt lest the Spanish navy might intercept the transports; or that complications might have arisen with the Germans, who did not seem too friendly. But Dewey was found to have mastered the situation; the Spanish vessels being either at the bottom of the bay, or serving as American gunboats, as the result of the May-day affair; and the Germans, though still not too friendly, showing no disposition to get their vessels foul of Dewey's guns.

There was but one death on the voyage, notwithstanding sickness from measles, and much complaint from the poor commissary arrangements on the transports. But after arriving, owing to unsanitary quarters assigned by the regulars, and the disregard of the men of orders as to food, drink, and personal care—the conditions being new and the boys disinclined to rigid self-discipline—there was much sickness from fevers, cramps and diarrhea. Much in the way of military sanitation should have been learned in this campaign.

Very fittingly Oregon bore a conspicuous part in the surrender of Manila and the final extinction of Spanish authority in the Pacific Ocean. August 13th Colonel Summers was ordered to place his nine companies aboard the two vessels "Kwanchai" and

“Zafiro,” and accompany the troops designated to support Dewey’s demonstration from the bay. The surrender was already practically arranged, though the Spanish commander insisted that a few shots must be exchanged in deference to Spanish honor. But of this, as a matter of course, the Oregon troops knew nothing. Nor could it be known, even to those arranging the demonstration, just how many shots Spanish honor would require, or if a few were allowed, how many more might follow without being allowed. This form of surrender has been severely criticised as unnecessarily endangering the lives of Americans—reprehensible if even one were lost—when the place was practically in the hands of the Americans, and surrender without conditions would seem to be within as easy reach as by a show of defense.

With no thought or means of knowing whether for dress parade or stern war the Second Oregon was placed aboard the vessels, and moved within the shadow of the Spanish defenses. By a simple chance, as it seemed, they were the first to be ordered into the works. A certain number of companies were desired for this service, and the Second Oregon affording just that number, they were selected. Colonel Summers, as landing was neared, himself went forward in a small boat, being first to step ashore. The regiment was soon landed and forming in order of march entered the ancient city. The Spanish gunners were still at their cannon, and all the Spanish

troops, five thousand in number, occupying the walls of the citadel, and wearing anything but pleasant looks, had their arms. The nine hundred Americans could have maintained no effective defense if through some derangement of plan, or outbreak of Spanish wrath, a fight had been precipitated. But the programme went off without accident. The Oregon troops marched to their places, the citadel was occupied, the Spanish flag was taken down, and the Stars and Stripes run up. It was G. W. Povey, of Company L, Second Oregon, who raised the American colors; and the arrogant power of Spain, which had once domineered over half the world, and had punished as pirates all that entered the Pacific, went down. It was not, however, a wholly jubilant scene. The Spanish population, as well as the garrison, stood with averted faces, and many were weeping. We cannot but consider it a righteous judgment that the authority that had so long been abused, should now cease in the presence of one that has a better promise; and that in this decree the nations of all the world, whose representatives witnessed the event, should acquiesce. Kings and emperors saw the flag of a European king go down, and that of a Republic go up, and yet no hand was lifted to arrest the fall of one of Europe's oldest empires in the Pacific. The will, no doubt, was present with some; but the principle of freedom had now gained such a head of power that collision with it would shatter any European throne.

The further history of the Second Oregon—for this was but the beginning of its service in the Philippines—cannot be detailed here. We are fully aware that judgment has not been settled as to the courses afterward pursued in these islands; history still demands a perspective. In the results, however, all Americans acquiesce, believing that even if a different policy might have proved less sanguinary that there is still seed of American liberty, emblemized in the Stars and Stripes, with its hope as well as fire, that will result in the freedom that all Americans hold dear, extended to all men who are brought under its folds. As Americans succeeded in 1776 in effectively declaring as the true relations of all men the hard won rights heretofore regarded as peculiar to Englishmen; and again in the ordeal of civil war, more than two generations afterward, extended those rights in form, and the possibility of them in fact, to a race held as slaves; so it is reasonable to believe that through whatever devious paths the doctrine must go, it can reach no less results on the eastern shore of the old world. There is no other working doctrine of human rights; and to this we see the energies of steam, and gunpowder, and steel, as well as a long retrospect of recorded history, forcing even the most reluctant exponents of monarchy and autocracy. We see dynasties dying and emperors abdicating. The republic never dies; the people never abdicate.

This may be given as the faith of those even most

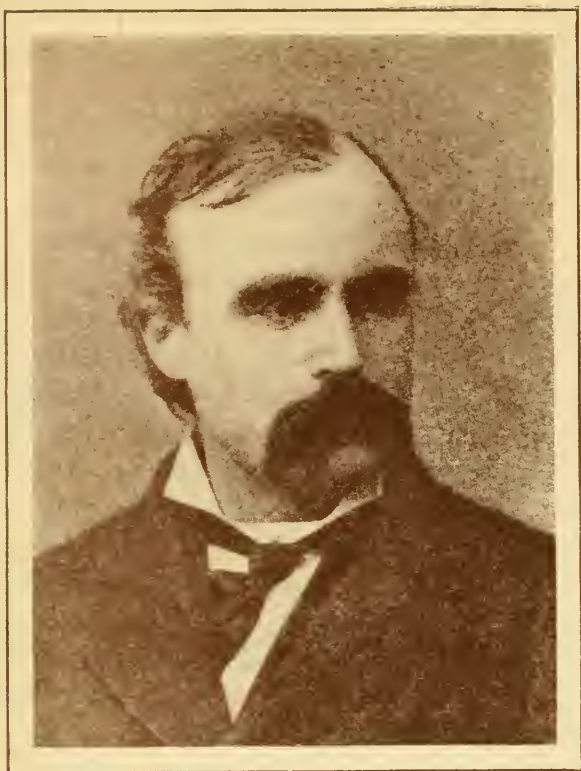
doubtful of the value of coercion of the native Filipinos. To those who believe in the wisdom and necessity of such policy, whose ballots have by immense pluralities supported those that found such a policy requisite, the horizon of hope is darkened by no clouds whatever. Clouded or unclouded, the sky is there.

CONCLUSION

The course of events, illustrating the growth of an American State, has thus been more or less completely reviewed during its progress of one hundred years—under the inspiration of an American Idea; and for the two hundred slow years preceding. It is a stream such as the poet of Oregon, Sam. L. Simpson, well described in his ode to the Willamette, one whose course is “onward ever.” Though the poet probably had no intention of such a comparison it is not forcing it to remark that his lines, in the same ode, are applicable to this stream of the history of our State.

In thy crystal deeps inverted
Swings a picture of the sky;
Like those wavering shapes of Aidenn
Dimly in our dreams that lie;
Clouded often, drowned in sorrow,
Faint and distant, far away;
Wreathing sunshine for the morrow,
Breathing fragrance round to-day.

In this stream of history, forcing its path along



SAMUEL L. SIMPSON

the earth, often confused and turbid, still we see the picture of the sky—the wavering shapes of Aidenn—a dream of justice and a perfected order of society. Clouded often, drowned by sudden overflows of passion, still sufficient to cast hope upon the morrow, and make the present day endurable.

The acquisition of Oregon was more than a territorial expansion; it was a growth. It was the projection of an idea first. The world had need of America because America meant liberty—opportunity. The United States, the ideal “America,” had need of Oregon, for without this great territory opportunity would have been limited and thrown back again under European conditions. In parting from the old world and seeking a new, the Fathers succeeded in leaving a part of the evils and limitations of old world society behind. They rejected the ingrained belief of that society that the relations of men were to be socially adjusted along lines of natural inequality; and boldly declared that not men’s inequalities, not their differences, but their equalities, their natural similarities and sympathies, were to be made the criterion by which to adjust their relations. This doctrine they promulgated, but they could not fully institute it even in their own social and domestic relations. Men actuated by this doctrine crossing the continent, as their fathers crossed the ocean, succeeded in leaving behind the limitations upon opportunity that still remained east of the Rocky Mountains, or south of the Ohio. As a result

liberty that had not yet been realized was from the first established in Oregon.

They came in contact here with both savage life, which could not understand large civil association, and the British idea of inequality. From both these they took the territory; and in the government that they established all that Indian or Englishman could have expected under his own rule and interpretation—and a thousand times more—has been given to both. All of Oregon, all of California, all of Alaska, practically all of the Pacific Ocean, have been made free to the life and enterprise of mankind, as individual interest and conscience interpret it to each. The conception of the new world as a privilege and perquisite of the tyrannies of the old world, that a Charles or George, or their favorites, were to enjoy what Divine Providence had stored through ages of physical conservation of natural energy as the patrimony of liberated man, was by the same course of history relegated step by step beyond the domain of inhabited earth, in this new world, to the icy regions of the pole. England kept British Columbia, but not as a fee of monopoly. As Oregon was Americanized the British province ceased to be Britonized. On condition only that it offer all that an American State can offer does it remain nominally under the crown of a king.

We are still conscious of the imperfections, and the crudities, and that the most that we can feel proud of, is yet to come. But it is believed that the Ameri-

can conception of nationality, with its idea of human rights, is the highest political aspiration that the world has ever known. The perils are not absent; confidence in its permanence is often lost. But it is a fair presumption that the forces that have been working to a determinate point with such precision and certainty since Gray gave the flag of his country to the wind at the Straits of Fuca and at the mouth of the Columbia, and since Lewis and Clark measured with their own steps the continent from the mouth of the Missouri to the same point as reached by Gray from around the world, will not be arrested, nor their course reversed.

APPENDIX "A"

AUTHORS AND BOOKS RELATING TO THE PERIOD QUOTED IN VOLUME II, WITH EXTRACTS AND COMMENTS

"FRANCHERE'S NARRATIVE," written in French and published at Montreal, 1819; translated into English by J. V. Huntington, and published in 1854. This narrative has been justly regarded as one of the brightest and best books of travel and adventure.

His description of crossing the bar is as follows: "The wind was blowing in heavy squalls, and the sea ran very high. In spite of that the Captain caused a boat to be lowered, and Mr. Fox, first mate, Basil Le Pensee, Ignace Le Pensee, Jos. Nadeau, and John Martin, got into her, and taking some provisions and fire-arms, with orders to sound the channel and report themselves on board as soon as possible. The boat was not even supplied with a good sail, or a mast; but one of the partners gave Mr. Fox a pair of bed sheets to serve for the former. Messrs. McKay and McDougal could not help remonstrating with the captain on the imprudence of putting a boat ashore in such weather; but they could not move his obstinacy. The boat's crew pulled away from the ship. Alas, we were never to see her again! And we had already a foreboding of her fate. The next day the wind seemed to moderate and we approached very near the coast. The entrance of the river, which we plainly distinguished by the naked eye, appeared but a confused and agitated sea; the waves, impelled by a wind from the offing, broke upon the bar, and left no perceptible passage. We got no sign of the boat, and toward evening for our own safety, we hauled off to sea, with all countenances extremely sad, not excepting the captain's. . . .

"During the night the wind fell, the clouds dispersed, and the sky became serene. On the morning of the 24th (March), we found that the current had carried us near the coast again, and we dropped anchor in fourteen fathoms water north of Cape Disappointment. The *coup d'oeil* is not so smiling by a great deal at this anchorage as at the Sandwich Islands, the coast offering little to the eye but continuous ranges of high mountains covered with snow. . . .

"Although it was calm, the sea continued to break over the reef [bar] with violence, between Cape Disappointment and Point Adams. We sent Mr. Mumford, second mate, to sound a passage; but having found the breakers too heavy he returned on board about midday.

Messrs. McKay and D. Stuart offered their services to go ashore and search for the boat's crew, who left on the 22nd; but they could not find a place to land. They saw Indians who made signs to pull around the cape, but they deemed it more prudent to return to the vessel. Soon after their return a gentle breeze sprung up from the westward; we raised anchor and approached the entrance to the river. Mr. Aikin was then dispatched in the pinnace, accompanied by John Cole, sailmaker, and Stephen Weeks, armorer, and two Sandwich islanders; and we followed under easy sail. Another boat had been sent out before this one, but the captain judging that she was too far south, made a signal to return. Mr. Aikin not finding less than four fathoms, we followed him and advanced beyond the breakers, with a favorable wind, so that we passed the boat on the starboard within pistol shot. We made signs for her to return on board, but she could not accomplish it; the ebb tide carried her with such rapidity that in a few minutes we had lost sight of her, amongst the tumultuous breakers that surrounded us. It was near nightfall; the breeze began to give out and the water ran so low with the ebb that we struck six or seven times with violence; the breakers broke over the ship, and threatened to submerge her. At last we passed from two and one-fourth fathoms to seven, where we were obliged to drop anchor, the wind having entirely failed us. We were far, however, from being out of danger, and the darkness came on to add to the terror of the situation; our vessel, though at anchor, threatened to be carried away at any moment by the tide; the best bower was let go, and it kept two men at the wheel to hold her head in the right direction. However, Providence came to our succor; the flood succeeded to the ebb, and the wind rising out of the offing, we weighed both anchors, and in spite of the obscurity of the night, succeeded in gaining a little bay, or cove, found at the entrance of the river by Cape Disappointment, and called Baker's Bay, where we found a good anchorage."

The description of the same event by Alexander Ross, on board at the same time is as follows:

"On the 22nd March we came in sight of land, which as we approached proved to be Cape Disappointment, a promontory forming the northern side of the great Oregon, or Columbia River. The sight filled every heart with gladness; but the cloudy and stormy state of the weather prevented us seeing clearly the mouth of the river, being ten miles from land. The aspect of the coast was wild and dangerous, and for some time the ship lay to, until the captain could satisfy himself that it was the entrance of the river; which

he had no sooner done than Mr. Fox, the mate, was ordered to go and examine the channel of the bar. At one-thirty Mr. Fox left the ship, having with him one sailor, a (one) very old Frenchman, and three Canadian lads, unacquainted with sea service—two of them having come from La Chine, and the other a Montreal barber. Mr. Fox objected to such hands, but the captain refused to change them, adding that he had none other to spare. Mr. Fox then represented the impossibility of performing the service in such weather, and on such a rough sea, adding that the waves were too high for any boat to live in. The captain turning sharply around said "Mr. Fox if you are afraid of water you should have remained at Boston." On this Mr. Fox immediately ordered the boat to be lowered, and the men to embark. . . .

"If the crew was bad, the boat was worse, being scarcely seaworthy and very small. While this was going on, the partners, who were all partial to Mr. Fox, began to sympathize with him, and to intercede with the captain to defer examining the bar till a favorable change took place in the weather. But he was deaf to entreaties, stamped, and swore that a combination was formed to frustrate all his designs. The partners' interference only riveted him all the more in his determination, and Mr. Fox was peremptorily ordered to proceed. He, seeing the captain was immovable, turned to the partners with tears in his eyes, and said, 'My uncle was drowned here not many years ago, and I am going to lay my bones with his.' He then shook hands with all around him, and bade them adieu. Dropping in the boat, 'Farewell, my friends,' said he, 'we may meet in the next world'; and the words were prophetic."

Following is a summary of a trip to the Willamette by McKay, R. Stuart, Montigny, and Franchere, with a number of boatmen, May 2nd, 1811: "We first passed a lofty headland, that seemed at a distance to be detached from the main, and to which we gave the name Tongue Point. . . . On the morning of the 6th we ascended this small stream (Kalama) and soon arrived at a large village, called Thlakalama, the chief whereof, who was a young and handsome man, was called Keassano. . . .

"We quitted with regret this charming spot, and soon came to another large village, which upon inquiry we found was called Kathlapootle, which was situated at the confluence of a small stream which was called Cowilkt, opposite two villages called Maltnobah. We then found the confluence of the river Wallamet, or Willamet. . . .

"The oaks and poplars (balm) which line both banks of the river, the green and flowery prairies disclosed through the trees,

and the mountains discovered in the distance, offer to the eye of the observer who loves the beauties of simple nature, a prospect the most lovely and enchanting."

They went on up the Columbia, and May 8th were at the Cascades, evidently having a good sailing breeze. "We found here an old blind man, who gave us a cordial reception. Our guide said that he was a white man, and that his name was Soto. We learned from the mouth of the old man himself that he was the son of a Spaniard who had been wrecked at the mouth of the river; a part of the crew got ashore, but all were murdered by the Clatsops, with the exception of four, who were spared, and who married native women; that the four Spaniards, of whom his father was one, disgusted with savage life, attempted to reach a settlement of their own nation toward the south, but had never been heard of since; and that when his father with his companions left the country, he himself was quite young." The Indian guide was Coalpo.

Franchere states that the men lost on the bar were two brothers, Le Pensee, Joseph Nadeau, Fox, Aikin, John Cole, and the Sandwich islanders. With Pillet he witnessed the burial of the latter.

Franchere gave no very good account of McDougal, and thus summarizes the close of his career:—"D. McDougal, as the reward for betraying the trust reposed in him by Mr. Astor, was made a partner in the North West Company, and died a miserable death at Bar de la Riviere, Winnipeg."

As to the future movements of others of the old company he says:—"J. C. Halsey, Russel Farnham, and Alfred Seton, left on the Pedlar. Halsey was left at Sitka; Farnham was left at Kamchatka, and took dispatches overland to Mr. Astor. As to Seton, the Pedlar being detained in California, he made his way by Darien, and after much delay finally reached New York.

"Donald McKenzie (McDougal's coadjutor) went back to the Columbia river, where he amassed a considerable fortune, with which he retired, and lived in Chautauqua county, New York, where he died unknown and neglected.—He was a very selfish man; he cared for no one but himself."

As to the sale of Astoria Franchere says:—"McKenzie favored McDougal's proposition to give up Astoria: Not that there is any fault in the country—no country as to valuable furs can hold out better prospects; but Astor's policy, and a series of chain of mistakes have ruined all."

As to the first potato crop, which in popular print has now been stated as about half a bushel to the hill, Franchere says:—"With

all the care we could bestow upon them during the passage from New York, only twelve potatoes were saved, and even these were so shriveled up that we despaired of raising any from the few sprouts that showed signs of life. Nevertheless we raised 190 potatoes the first season, and after sparing a few plants for our inland traders we planted (the next season) about fifty or sixty hills which produced five bushels the 2nd year. About two of these we planted the next year, which gave us a welcome crop of 50 bushels for the year 1813."

Franchere gives quite an extended account of an affair with the Indians at the Cascades, in which he says a chief was captured, and a part of the goods gotten which had been stolen. This was one of the many conflicts with the Indians with which the operations of the Northwesters in Oregon were marred; a more particular account of which is given by Ross.

As to the sale of Astoria Franchere considers this a simple betrayal, and wholly uncalled for from a military point of view; saying:—"From the account given in this chapter the reader will see with what facility the establishment of the Pacific Fur Company could have escaped capture by the British force. It was only necessary to get rid of the land party of the North West Company—who were completely in our power—then remove our effects up the river upon some small stream, and await the result. The sloop of war arrived, it is true; but as in the case I suppose, she would have found nothing, she would have left, after setting fire to our deserted houses. None of her boats would have dared follow us, even if the Indians had betrayed to them our lurking places. Those at the head of affairs had their own fortunes to seek, and thought it more for their interest, doubtless, to act as they did; but that will not clear them in the eyes of the world, and the charge of treason will always be attached to their character." He refers to McDougal and Donald McKenzie.

That McTavish and his men who camped in front of the fort, and had been fed for some time by the Americans, were in fact in their power, as stated by Franchere, is also shown by Ross, who says that when the sail of the "Raccoon" appeared, McTavish still hesitated about signing the bills of exchange; not being convinced, perhaps, that this was the English force; and if it proved an American, he would have simply placed the fort in a position to be captured as a prize; nor, if it were an English force, the price paid, \$60,000, might be much reduced, and still the sale be made. But for McDougal, if it were an American, the sale would amount

to nothing, as the fort would be instantly taken back; and if it were the British force—as he expected—the sale would put the goods out of reach of the prize, and he would stand well with the Northwesters. He therefore, with McKenzie, “ordered” McTavish to sign the bills of exchange; and as the Northwester still hesitated, McKenzie armed the 72 Americans at the fort, trained the guns on McTavish’s camp, and gave him two hours to complete the papers. This at 9 o’clock; at 11 the papers were signed, and McDougal soon started for the bar to meet the ship, prepared to say that he was either an American or British subject, as the stranger proved; and the Northwesters, now in possession, were placing all things in readiness to, if it were an American, move up the river with their goods.

Bancroft, who is partial to McDougal, asks, if the Americans had done as Franchere says they might, what would have followed then? Were the Americans, with their fort burned, their ships wrecked or destroyed, and the natives demoralized, or made hostile, able to carry on a trading business? These are pertinent questions, and suggest that McKenzie might have been right in considering that the trade under Astor’s management had already been ruined by a long chain of mistakes. The war, the loss of two ships, the mistake of Sowles in being bottled up in China, and the badly composed elements of the company, would probably have made any attempt at resistance useless, and have left the question of final ownership of Oregon in much worse condition for the Americans.

“ADVENTURES OF FIRST SETTLERS ON THE COLUMBIA, OR OREGON, RIVER”; by Alexander Ross; published at London, 1849; Smith, Elder & Co.

Alexander Ross gives a somewhat humorous account of the affair at the Cascades; saying that Keith and Alexander Stuart, about Jan. 3, 1814 were met by himself, as he was coming down the river, going up. They were advised not to proceed, with so small a party. But they were “Northwesters,” and gave no heed to an American’s counsel. At the Cascades they were attacked by the Indians, one man was killed, Stuart was wounded, and Keith got away just in time to save his party, and to meet Franchere who was on the way up to reinforce him. A force was then made up of 82 picked men, with two Chinook interpreters, to punish the tribe who had committed the outrage, the Cath-le-yach-a-yachs. But, as Ross says, without firing a gun, recovering the property stolen, or rescuing a

prisoner, they returned on the ninth day; some going into the Willamette Valley, "the gourmand's paradise," for the winter.

The incident of Clarke's hanging an Indian in the Snake River country, where he was trapping, for stealing his silver goblet, which was restored by the tribe; and their astonishment that he should perform such an outrageous act, is given as follows by Ross:—"Next morning, however, the pearl of great price was gone! Everything in the camp was turned topsy turvy in search of the silver goblet, but it was to no purpose. All business was suspended—the goblet must be found. At last it was conjectured the Indians must have stolen it; and Mr. Clarke, with fury in his countenance, assembled the whole Catateuch camp, and made known his loss—the loss of his silver goblet. He coaxed; he flattered; he threatened to bring down vengeance on the whole tribe for the loss of his goblet; and in his wrath and vexation, denounced death on the offender, should he be discovered. The poor Indians stood gazing in amazement, and sympathising with him; pitied him, and promised to do their utmost to find the goblet. . . .

"With this solemn declaration they went off. The whole tribe was called together; the council sat; and soon afterwards they returned in a body, like messengers of peace, bringing the glad tidings to Mr. Clarke that the goblet was found. At the same time the chief, stepping forward and spreading out his robe, laid the precious vessel before him. 'Who is the thief?' vociferated Mr. Clarke. The chief then pointed to a fellow sitting in the corner as the criminal. 'I swore,' said Mr. Clarke, 'that the thief should die, and white men never break their word.' The fellow was told of his fate; but he kept smiling, thinking himself, according to Indian custom, perfectly safe; for the moment the stolen article is restored, according to the maxims of Indian law, the culprit is exempted. Mr. Clarke, however, thought otherwise, and like Herod of old, for the sake of his oath, considered himself bound to put his threat into execution; and therefore immediately commanded the unsuspecting wretch to be hung up—and hanged he was accordingly. The Indians all this time could not believe the white men were in earnest until they saw the lifeless body. The deed was no sooner committed than Mr. Clarke grew ashamed."

When this execution was related to McKenzie and the other partners it was instantly deprecated, and trouble was feared. Trouble came, sure enough; as has been related. This is one of those acts of cruel folly such as men of small vanities and less wit have

always been prone to commit, and that every historian encounters only to condemn.

On his first trip into the Snake River country McKenzie is mentioned as finding some of the men who became first settlers in Oregon. Ross saying:—"On his way he (McKenzie) picked up the Canadians belonging to the trapping parties fitted out by Mr. Hunt on his land expedition; these were Dubreuil, Carson, the gunsmith; Delanney, St. Michel, Trescott, Laudire, and La Chapelle, the blacksmith." He speaks of another of the band of settlers as having gotten into trouble with the Indians and made them hostile, Gervais; who beat an Indian of the Waconee tribe, opposite the village at the mouth of the "Wallamitte" river.

"ADVENTURES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER," by Ross Cox; J. and J. Harper, New York, 1832. A well written but rather brag-gadocio account of six years on the Columbia, which the author ascended nine times, descending eight; crossing the mountains east after the last trip. Cox arrived at Astoria on the Beaver; sailing Oct. 17, 1811. Cabin passengers being Clarke, Clapp, Halsey, Nicolls, Seton, Elminger, and Cox. Cox gives a circumstantial account of the loss of the Tonquin, including the names of those who reached the ship's cabin: "Three of them John Anderson the boatswain; John Weeks the carpenter, and Stephen Weeks, . . . succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in gaining possession of the cabin." This was concluded from descriptions of the Indians.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, Geo. E. Ellis, of The Massachusetts Historical Society, in "Narrative and Critical History of America." Edited by Justin Winsor. Houghton, Mifflin Co., N. Y., 1889. Ellis says as to methods: "We shall find that all the subsequent rivalries and contests between the opposing fur companies, were prompted and embittered by the conditions under which the Hudson's Bay Company began its operations and continued them for more than half a century without penetrating any distance into the country by the lakes and rivers. The French penetrated the interior to open trade with the savages; the English waited to have the peltries brought to them at the outer posts."

A synopsis of the history of this company is taken from this sketch:

1670, Charles Bayley sent to set up a factory; did so at Rupert's River.

- 1685, Five posts were in occupation.
- 1686, De Troyes by land from Canada destroyed three.
- 1686, French squadron under Jeremie destroyed all forts except Albany, in James Bay; and held York Factory, called then Ft. Bourbon, 1697 to 1714. It was contended by the French that as the English did not organize any of the territory until after the death of Charles II a charter granted by him was null.
- 1763, Canadians, under English authority, began trading in furs on their own account.
- 1782, La Perouse captured Forts York and Churchill, which were plundered and burned. The French always dealt with the Hudson's Bay Co. as trespassers and plundered and destroyed its posts when they could.
- 1805, North West Company originated, with headquarters at Montreal; went west by the river Ottawa, and had post at Fort William, on west side of Lake Superior.
- 1811, Selkirk Settlement, ostensibly for benefit of evicted Highlanders from Kildonan, was organized; with territory of 116,000 square miles, centering at confluence of Red and Assiniboine rivers.
- 1812, The colony reached Ft. Garry, "desolate and pitiful."
- 1816, Colony was reinforced by the earl, with more settlers and supplies.
- 1816, June 16, Governor Semple, of the Colony, was killed by a party of Northwesters.
- To 1820, A condition of open war.
- 1821, Hudson's Bay Company and Northwesters unite on equal terms, under negotiations initiated by Ellice. The object of Selkirk in establishing his settlement, in addition to any benefit to the evicted Highlanders, was that retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, half breeds and converted savages should find a common and congenial residence (Undoubtedly the source of McLoughlin's idea in the settlement of French Prairie).
- 1821, Right of "exclusive trade" for 21 years was granted to the united organization, over 2,764,340 square miles. The company by thus concentrating and increasing its power retained in exercise all the monopolizing and other objectionable features of its policy. As to disposition toward settlement, referring particularly to the Red River Colony after coming under the united organization it is said: "In the full and

searching inquisition by a parliamentary committee near the close of the long struggle, we shall have occasion to note how thoroughly the whole process exposed the fact that it was not possible for a permanent settlement to flourish in any portion of the territory controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, where it was allowed even the slightest jurisdiction."

1837, J. H. Pelly, the London Governor, asked of the British government a renewal of 21 years more of the term of the charter; this communication being accompanied with a letter by Governor Simpson. The most valuable portion of the territory bordered on the Pacific Ocean. As to this the communication said: "The company has found difficulty, and *scant profit* in holding this against the efforts of Russia and America; but *national pride* prompts it to such energetic means that it has compelled the American adventurers to withdraw."

1838, May 30, License of 21 years is renewed.

1846, A body of 500 British troops were sent to the Red River settlement; ostensibly to hold the colony in check, though Ross says there was no apparent reason for this military precaution except "the unmeaning fuss and gasconade about the Oregon question."

1847, Feb. 17, A memorial was received from the Red River Colony, complaining that the Hudson's Bay Company had set up a harsh administration, and pursued a ruinous policy. By its exclusive trade with the Indians, greatly to their injury, the company received a princely fortune, believed to be annually a quarter million sterling, and perpetuated without any improvement, the wandering, precarious, and barbarous life of the natives. It had not established a church or school in its settlement. It had neglected all means on its own part, and opposed others, for opening up the country.

1848, A movement toward colonial improvement amounting to revolt, under Isbister, was suppressed by Lord Grey.

McLoughlin is thus mentioned: "Dr. McLoughlin, who as an agent of the Northwest Company had been a strong opponent of the Bay Company, after the coalition of 1821 became a factor of the latter, and was made local governor west of the Rocky mountains. He was regarded as indifferent to the company's interests, and favoring settlers of the United States near the Columbia river.

1867, On report of investigating committee the government of Gladstone withdrew the privileges of the company.

That the Hudson's Bay Company had good reason to hold on to their monopolistic privileges is apparent. It is stated by Ellis that the profits of their fur business, first and last, all together, could not have been less than One Hundred and Twenty Million dollars; justifying the statement of Irving, that the Fur business of the North was equal in value to England to that of gold in the South to Spain.

"OREGON MISSIONS," P. J. De Smet, of Society of Jesus; New York, 1847; published by Edward Dunigan. A valuable work. As to the pestilence of 1829-30, it says: "Until 1830, the territory of Oregon was thickly settled by numerous tribes of Indians; but at that period the country bordering on the Columbia was visited by a fatal scourge, which carried off nearly two-thirds of the Indian inhabitants. It showed itself in the form of an infectious fever. . . . The Indians superstitiously attributed the scourge to a quarrel between some agents of the Hudson Bay Company, and an American captain, which led the latter to throw a species of charm into the river by way of revenge. . . . Notwithstanding the ravages the population of Oregon amounts to nearly 110,000 souls, residing chiefly in the North. This fearful visitation attacked the colonists as well as natives."—From introduction, by an editor, to the letters of De Smet. From a communication from J. B. Z. Bolduc, also of the Jesuit Society in Oregon, the following is given as to the scourge. "You will scarcely credit the relation of the terrible ravages which this epidemic causes among the numerous tribes that inhabit the shores of the Columbia. . . . When the savages find themselves attacked by it, they hasten to plunge into the cold rivers, and die immediately. The whites, with proper attention, baffle the disease."

Another reason for the great mortality is given. "Formerly they (the Indians) clothed themselves very comfortably and neatly with the furs which they possessed; but since the trade in skins has become so extensive the natives of Oregon are much worse provided for in this respect. . . . To this circumstance is attributed the decrease in population."

"ASTORIA," By Washington Irving; well known popular account; given somewhat to exaggeration, and partial to Astor.

H. H. BANCROFT; Northwest Coast.

[Vol. 4]

LEWIS AND CLARK'S JOURNALS; The great work of Dr. Coues being best edited; though not without minor mistakes.

"HISTORY OF THE OREGON TERRITORY AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN FUR TRADE," by John Dunn, late of the Hudson's Bay Company; eight years a resident in the country. Published, second edition, 1846; London, Edwards and Hughes, "Ave Maria Lane." Compiled from notes or "log book," taken in the country, but written upon return to England and seeing the President's Message of 1843, and following some articles claimed by himself to have been written to the London Times, from which general discussion of the Oregon Question in England arose.

The book is strongly British in tone, and highly partisan of the Hudson's Bay Company. As to himself, he states that he left his father's home in London on the *Ganymede* for the Columbia, being articulated to the Hudson's Bay Company; arriving at Vancouver was employed as assistant in the store about a year; was then sent north coasting all the shores of New Caledonia, as trader and interpreter; on return was placed in charge at Fort George—"now," as he explains, "an outpost attached to Vancouver—the famous Astoria, so much vaunted of by the Americans, from which they once threatened, to use Washington Irving's phrase, 'to sweep the British from the Pacific.' . . . A boastful threat which they have signally failed to execute. They made, however, every effort to realize this most ardent wish of their heart, but have been completely foiled. . . . The result of their own irregular mode of dealing, and cupidity; which have roused against them the distrust, indignation, and hatred of the natives."

The object of the book was avowedly to induce the British government to assert possession of Oregon, at least to the Columbia river; remarking, "her possessions she (Great Britain) has always made every effort to maintain; and there never was a time when she was more imperatively called upon to maintain her territories on that continent (North America) than now."

As a partisan of the Hudson's Bay Company Dunn gives an abridgment of its charter rights and history, and its struggle with the Northwesters; to the disparagement of the latter until their merger with the former. This is good evidence of all that has been claimed as to the exclusive privileges of the corporation, and the object of the Northwesters in making war upon it. As to exclusive rights he says:—"No subject of the British Crown was to be allowed to trade within their company's territory without their written and

sealed permission"; and they were "empowered to transport to England all British subjects trading within their territory without their permission; all admirals and other officers of the Crown were enjoined to assist in former quoted instructions."

As to the Northwesters, he says that this company was formed in 1805, being an amalgamation of Canadian companies who had nearly ruined one another and themselves in competition; and after completing their own union turned all their combined energies against the old Hudson's Bay Company, and soon took formal and permanent possession of districts not occupied by the subjects of any other powers; among which the most important was Columbia. He notes three differences between the Northwesters of Montreal and the Hudson's Bay Co. of York Factory and London:—(1), The North West Company had no royal grant and "no field of operations to which they could lay a legal claim"; (2), "The general practice of the Hudson's Bay Company was to remain at their factories on the coast"; but of the Northwesters "to penetrate to the very recesses of the wilderness, . . . and huxter with the natives at their homes"; and (3), The Hudson's Bay officers were paid regular salaries while the Northwesters were "sons of enterprise."

This compelled a system of wages to the men which was little less than a fraud. The wages, he says, "were ostensibly high," but "in reality low," for "at every post they kept a sort of tally shop for credit, where the men were obliged to purchase all the articles they required at exorbitantly high prices. . . . The consequence was that they were constantly in debt, and in a state of bondage to their employers, there being no alternative left them but a periodical return to their employment on the terms prescribed to them, or a jail." As to exorbitant prices he cites that liquors were sold at the posts at Eight dollars a quart; and that the company's currency, depreciated to one-half value, was that in which all prices were reckoned at the posts.

All the force of the Northwesters "was concentrated against the Hudson's Bay Company," and the object is stated by him in the following— . . . "hopes were entertained of reducing that company to so low an ebb as in time to induce them to transfer their chartered rights to their formidable competitors." Interesting details of the struggle are mentioned; A robbery of Corrigan, an H. B. trader, in 1806; of Fidler in 1809; the attack of Aeneas McDonnell, of the Northwesters upon a company of H. B. employees, in which many were cut down, until attempting to kill one Mowat,

McDonnell was himself shot and killed; but on trial at Montreal, where the sympathies were all with the Northwesters, Mowat was convicted of manslaughter, condemned to six months' imprisonment, after suffering imprisonment over a year already through delay of trial, and also to be branded in the right hand with red hot iron: and then the destruction of the Red River colony of Selkirk by Alexander McDonnell and Cameron, of the Northwesters, killing of Governor Semple, and others, in 1815; and destruction of the second attempt at colonization in 1816. Although thus little friendly to the Northwesters Dunn admits that they performed substantial services for the British in the "late war"—of 1812—in rallying the Indians of the border against the Americans.

As a result of the union that was effected between the Canadians and the British, under the name and privileges of The Hudson's Bay Company later, he says:—"The whole of the vast continent, stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and from Lake Superior and the Columbia to the Pole, save the strip of seacoast occupied by the Russians, is under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company."—A manifest exaggeration, but clearly showing that the English public was led to believe that the British boundary of Oregon was unquestionably that of the Columbia river. That it was well understood that if this line were established it carried commercial control of the Pacific is also shown in the following:—"As they (the Hudson's Bay Company) can afford to sell goods purchased in England . . . at nearly half the American price, they are likely to engross the whole trade of the Pacific, as they do already the trade of Oregon; especially since they command all the ports and safe inlets of the country. This the Americans feel and declare; and it is this that whets their cupidity, and excites their jealousy and hatred."

It is manifest that Dunn does not very well like Dr. McLoughlin, referring to him as *Governor*, rather than by his proper title of Chief Factor, as if the former were an assumption of McLoughlin's; also speaking of one of his children as "a natural son"—evidently because McLoughlin had neglected to observe the English form in his marriage. The following description of the Chief Factor is guarded, and implies that he was understood as a friend of the Americans. He says:—"The present governor is Dr. John McLoughlin. He is described by American writers, whom he entertained in his usual style, as a portly, dignified looking man, almost six feet high, with a florid complexion, gray hair, large blue eyes. an open and benevolent expression of countenance, bland and courte-

ous manner, and a generous and most hospitable disposition. This I know to be all true. . . . He has mounted to his present office—the highest—by his diligence, integrity and skill.”

He states that opinion at Fort Vancouver was divided and the policy of McLoughlin was freely discussed. One party called themselves patriots, and held that too great assistance had been allowed the Americans—especially the “Episcopal Methodist missionaries,” whom they detested. The liberals, on the other hand, defended McLoughlin. They said, “Dr. McLoughlin may have acted indiscreetly, but he acted justly in sanctioning these emigrants. He could not lay an interdict upon their arrival and even should they turn out as bad as the rest of the motley groups that came from the States, the British residents could not be disappointed. But above all, good would grow out of evil in the end; for the Americans, by their intercourse with the British, would become more humanized, tolerant, and honest. Hence, they said, it was philosophical and liberal to encourage the American missionary squatters.”

JOHN McLOUGHLIN:—Two Documents: (1), Found among his papers, annotated by his Daughter, Mrs Harvey, and stated by her to be in his handwriting. If a copy it is not known to whom it was directed. Published in *Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1880; (2), Document now in possession of Mrs. Victor, of Portland; published by *The Oregon Historical Society*. Date of neither document is certainly known, but the first probably near the close of his life, at Oregon City.

APPENDIX "B"

PERSONAL OPINIONS OF McLoughlin

As a commanding and lofty character in Oregon history it is not surprising that Dr. John McLoughlin should have been mentioned in almost every historical notice of our State. The following are some of the more characteristic of the references to be found:

By Hon. J. Quinn Thornton, Pioneer Association address, at Aurora, June 16, 1874: "He was a great man, upon whom God had stamped a grandeur of character which few men possess, and a nobility which the patent of no earthly sovereign can confer. His standard of commercial integrity would compare well with that of the best of men. As a Christian he was a devout Roman Catholic, yet, nevertheless, catholic in the largest sense of the word. While he was sometimes betrayed by his warm, impulsive nature and great force of character, into doing or saying something of questionable propriety, he was, notwithstanding, a man of great goodness of heart, too wise to do a really foolish thing, too noble and magnanimous to condescend to meanness, and too forgiving to cherish resentment. The writer . . . hesitates not to say that old, white-headed John McLoughlin, when compared with other persons who have figured in the early history of Oregon, is in sublimity of character a Mount Hood, towering above the foothills into the regions of eternal snow and sunshine."

By Hon. Matthew P. Deady, of the United States District Court, in address before the Pioneers at Salem Fair Grounds, 1875: "Dr. John McLoughlin was chief factor of the company (H. B.) west of the Rocky Mountains, from 1823 to 1845, when he resigned the position and settled at Oregon City, where he died in 1857, full of years and honor. During this period he was the controlling power in the country, and did more than anyone else to preserve order, peace and good will among the conflicting and sometimes lawless elements of

the population. Although as an officer of the company his duty and interest required that he should prefer it to the American immigrant or missionary, yet at the call of humanity he always forgot all special interests and was ever ready to help and succor the needy and unfortunate of whatever creed or clime. Had he but turned his back upon the early missionary or settler and left them to shift for themselves, the occupation of the country by Americans would have been seriously retarded and attended with much greater hardship and suffering than it was. . . . For at least a quarter of a century McLoughlin was a grand and potent figure in the affairs of the Pacific Slope. . . . But he has long since gone to his rest. Peace to his ashes! Yet the good deeds done in the body are a lasting monument to his memory, and shall in due time cause his name to be written in letters of gold in Oregon history. As I pass along where he fell out of the ranks of life I reverently turn aside and drop this stone upon his neglected cairn, and hope every Oregon Pioneer will say Amen."

J. W. Nesmith, same occasion: "Suffice it to say that the immigration of 1843 arrived in safety in the valley during the fall and early part of winter, and found homes in the then settled neighborhoods. Dr. John McLoughlin, then at the head of the Hudson Bay Company, from his own private resources rendered the new settlers much valuable aid by furnishing the destitute with food, clothing and seed, waiting for his pay until they had a surplus to dispose of. Dr. John McLoughlin was a public benefactor, and the time will come when the people of Oregon will do themselves credit by erecting a statue to his memory. Of foreign birth and lineage, he gave the strongest proof of his devotion to republican institutions by becoming an American citizen, while all his personal interests were identified with the British government. Thus far detraction and abuse have been his principal reward."

Willard H. Rees, a pioneer of 1844, at Fair Grounds, Salem, before same Association: "Dr. McLoughlin, as director of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, had more power over the Indians of the whole Northwest Coast, which he judiciously exercised, than all other influences multiplied or combined. He was a great and just man, having in no instance deceived them, firm in maintaining the established rules regulating their intercourse, making their supplies, so far as the company was concerned, strictly depend on their own efforts and good conduct, always prompt to redress the slightest infraction of good faith. This sound, undeviating policy made Dr. McLoughlin the most humane and suc-

cessful manager of the native tribes this country has ever known, while the Indians both feared and respected him above all other men."

Joseph Watt, pioneer of 1844, in transactions of Pioneer Association for 1886: "When we started for Oregon we were all prejudiced against the Hudson's Bay Company, and Dr. McLoughlin, being chief factor of the company in Oregon, came in for a double share of that feeling. I think a great deal of this was caused by reports of missionaries and adverse traders, imbuing us with a feeling that it was our mission to bring this country under the stars and stripes. But when we found him anxious to assist us, nervous at our situation in being so late, and doing so much without charge—letting us have of his store, and waiting without interest until we could make a farm and pay him from the surplus product of such farm, the prejudice heretofore existing began to be rapidly allayed. We did not know that every dollar's worth of provisions, etc., he gave us, all advice and assistance in every shape, was against the positive orders of his company, and in the end he had to pay the Hudson's Bay Company every dollar that he trusted to the settlers of this country. In this connection I am sorry to say that thousands of dollars virtually loaned by him at different times in those early days, was never paid, as an examination of his books and papers will amply testify. . . . Dr. McLoughlin; kind, generous, large-hearted Dr. McLoughlin! One of nature's noblemen, who never feared to do his duty to his God, his country, or his fellow men and himself, even in the wilderness. The pioneers of this great Northwest feel that they owe Dr. John McLoughlin a debt of gratitude above all price, and that they and their posterity will cherish his memory by a suitable monument placed on the highest pinnacle of fame within the State of Oregon."

Lieutenant Neil. M. Howison, writing from Oregon December 1, 1846, gives a fine pen picture of McLoughlin, and this is all the more valuable as indicating the local feeling at the time. Howison was commander of the United States schooner "Shark," which in crossing out was wrecked on the bar September 9. He says of McLoughlin: "The control of all the (H. B.) company's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains was at that time, 1820 [1824], and continued until 1845, to be in the hands of John McLoughlin. As this gentleman figures largely in the settlement of this country, and continues to occupy a most influential and respectable stand there, it may be proper to describe him. He is a native of Canada, but born of Irish parents; he is well educated, and having studied medicine acquired

the title of doctor, which is now universally applied to him. Of fine form, great strength, and bold and fearless character, he was of all men best suited to control those Canadian adventurers. . . . The Doctor is now about seventy years of age; he is still strong and active, of robust figure and rosy complexion, with clear gray eyes, surmounted by huge brows, and a full head of hair, white as snow. He is a strict professor of the Catholic religion. He resides now altogether at Oregon City; is said to be on furlough duty from the company's service, and devotes himself to the operation of a fine flour and saw mill which he has built at the Falls. He is active and indefatigable, and has by his advice and assistance done more than any man towards the rapid development of the resources of this country; and although his influence among his own countrymen, some few of the most respectable of the American settlers, and throughout the half-breed and Indian population, is unbounded, he is not very popular with the bulk of the American population. . . . He is nevertheless to be considered a valuable man; has settled himself on the south side of the river with full expectation of becoming a citizen of the United States, and I hope the government at home will fully appreciate him."

W. H. Gray, the historian, above all others who sought to consign to infamy the acts of the Hudson's Bay Company, speaks in the highest terms of McLoughlin personally. Gray has been more or less justly criticized by the exact historian as giving verbal or reminiscent testimony, liable to be more or less warped by personal feeling. It should be remembered that Gray was a participant in much that happened in the early history of the community, and we find his name constantly in the proceedings of the Provisional Government. The following seems to lack contemporaneous documentary confirmation, unless in references by McLoughlin himself, but may well be inserted as the feeling of even strongly partisan Americans:

"As we said when speaking of 'the combination of influences and no harmony,' we believe Dr. John McLoughlin to have been one of the best and noblest of men. . . . In this connection we will give part of one deposition we listened to and penciled down from the mouth of the witness, who was the legal counsellor and confidential friend of Dr. McLoughlin from the fall of 1846 till his death. This witness, in answer to the inquiry as to what McLoughlin told him about the Hudson's Bay Company's encouraging the early settlement of Oregon, said Dr. McLoughlin had not encouraged the American settlement of the country, but from the fact that immigrants arrived poor and needy, they must have suffered had he not

furnished supplies on credit; that he could have wished that had not been necessary, because he believed there were those above him who strongly disapproved of his course in this respect, affirming that it would lead to the permanent settlement of the country by American citizens. . . . That he ascertained finally that such complaints had been made, but that he still continued to furnish the supplies, because as a man of common humanity he could not do otherwise, That he saw as clearly as they did that it aided in the American settlement of the country, but this he could not help, and it was not for him, but for God and government to look after and take care of consequences; that the Bible told him, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he is naked, clothe him'; that these settlers were not even enemies; that in thus finding fault with him they quarreled with heaven (the witness said I do not know as that was the exact expression, or word) for doing what anyone truly worthy the name of man could not hesitate to do, and he immediately concluded by indignantly saying, 'Gentlemen, if such is your order, I will serve you no longer.' My memory is not very distinct, at least not so much as it is to the statement above made, but my recollection is that he also informed me that the company, although it refused to permit him to retain the profits above mentioned [that for the profits he would personally assume the debts of the settlers] it did hold him responsible for every dollar of the advances he made, and I do know that he regarded and treated the debts thus owing by American citizens as debts not to the company, but to himself individually."

By Ellis, of the Hudson's Bay Company Directorate in London, it was said: "Dr. McLoughlin was rather an ambitious and independent personage; he was a very able man, and I believe a very good man; but he had a fancy that he would like to have interests in both countries, both in America and in English territory. While he remained with the Hudson's Bay Company he was an excellent servant."

Dr. William Frasier Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay service in Oregon, replying to Gray's criticism, *Pioneer Association Proceedings* of 1884, states that there was no disapproval by the Company of the Doctor's advances to Americans. He says: "In 1866, when, by permission of the late Daniel Harvey, examining Dr. McLoughlin's papers, I found a letter to him from Sir J. H. Pelly, Bart., Governor of the London Board of Directors, approving of his affording from the Company's stores aid to needy American immigrants. This letter, to the best of my recollection, was written in 1843 (the letter was

not copied then nor afterwards found). . . . My friend Archibald McKinley, now, like myself, a septuagenarian, writes in answer to my inquiry (April 28, 1884), from Laclahachie, B. C.: 'I have no recollection of ever having seen Pelly's letter, but never had doubt of its existence; for I have always contended that the advances made the Americans were not so much the cause of misunderstanding between the directors, Sir George Simpson and the Doctor, as the trouble and bickering occasioned by the latter holding on so persistently to the Oregon City claim. The Company were averse to meddling with any part of the country south of the Columbia.'

Both these communications would indicate a misunderstanding existing between the Doctor and his Company, leading to a final break in 1845, though chiefly on another account than supplies afforded to settlers. It has been stated also that when Parks and Peel arrived in 1846, and the British ships of war "Fishguard" and "Cormorant" were cruising in the waters of the Sound, and the "Modeste" in the Columbia, one of the officers was in the habit of speaking quite violently of the Americans, saying that if it came to war it would be carried on most vigorously—a little harder against Americans than against any others; but the Doctor would remonstrate deprecatingly, "Oh, Mr. Parks; oh, Mr. Parks!"

It would seem quite apparent that on all three grounds, therefore, arose the rupture which resulted in his giving up his position; that of advances to American settlers—for which he was held responsible; that of making a claim and business of his own at Oregon City; and for disapproving hostilities to retain the country north of the Columbia.

This inquiry would lead to a personal, or biographical, rather than a historical study, and may be closed by a quotation from McLoughlin's own statement, in the document often referred to, in which he certainly shows that he was subjected to harsh and almost degrading criticism by his own company, and perhaps by the British public. He says: "It is true, several thought I was too forbearing; but when I saw how much the good on both sides would suffer, and that a war between the United States and Great Britain might be caused by it, I considered it my duty to act as I did, and by which I think I may have prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain. . . . I fed the hungry, caused the sick to be attended to and nursed, furnished them every assistance as long as they required it, and which some have not paid to this day, though abundantly able, and for which, if they do not pay, I am made answerable to the Hudson's Bay Company. It may be said, and has

been said, that I was too liberal in making these advances. It was not so, but it was done judiciously and prudently. . . . How have I been treated by both? By British demagogues I have been represented as a traitor. For what? Because I acted as a Christian, saved American citizens, men, women and children, from the Indian tomahawk, and enabled them to make farms and support their families. American demagogues have been base enough to assert that I had caused American citizens to be massacred by hundreds by the savages."

The misprision and misunderstanding of his motives by both English and Americans cut the philanthropic Doctor to the heart, and he repeats: "I felt convinced that any disturbance here might lead to a war between Great Britain and the States; I felt it my duty as a Christian to act as I did, and which I think averted the evil, and which was so displeasing to some English demagogues that they represented me as a person partial to American interests. . . . On the other hand, though, if the American immigrants had been my brothers and sisters I could not have done more for them; yet . . . my claim is reserved.

"To be brief, I founded this settlement and prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain, and for doing this peaceably and quietly I was treated by the British in such a manner that from self respect I resigned my situation from the Hudson's Bay Company's service, by which I sacrificed \$12,000 per annum; and the Oregon land bill shows the treatment I received from Americans."

Whether the justice of history, and the recognition of after times, when personal interests and partisan spites are dissipated, and a character like that of McLoughlin stands forth as one of the best ever produced under the British flag, and one of the best ever given to America, should be regarded as compensation for the injustice and sufferings of a life darkened in old age, may not be determined. Yet the historian must ever assert that a character worthy of perpetual commemoration and admiration, illuminating by humanity and Christian doctrine the dark chapters of wilderness life from the Atlantic to the Pacific and setting a star of hope over the barracks of a mercenary trading company, is worth all personal sacrifices. It is of such acts that great history consists. Even to the Doctor himself, going down in old age and poverty, and doubting whether his family should have a support, and believing that he had better have been shot like a beast than to have so suffered, we may hope that it was but "a light affliction" compared with the perpetual consciousness of a life of peace and good will sustained in a period menaced by war.

The lines of Rosetti, in regard to a hypothetical character, seem realized in the real life of this knight of the early days of Oregon:

“Not tithed with days and years’ decease,
He paid the debt he owed;
But with imperishable peace,
There in his own abode, thy jealous God.”

CAUSES OF THE WHITMAN MASSACRE

Consideration of the causes of the massacre of Dr. Whitman lead back into one of the darkest and saddest chapters of superstition, and affords a study in psychology, rather than in historical narrative. It has been assigned all the way from the concrete object of destruction of the Protestant missions by Catholic rivals, to the “Inevitable conflict between civilization and barbarism”;—whatever the defects of the former, the latter is, like too many of the would-be scientific explanations, one that explains nothing, and moreover implies an inevitable conflict which in the case of a number of tribes was not inevitable. It is not the place here to attempt an analysis of this bitterly contested question, but a strong current of superstition has been noticed running along as a shadow parallel to almost the entire history of advance and progress.

It was noticed that the native Indian idea of disease was that of a personality afflicting the sufferer. The disease had a “*tomaniwus*,” and was severe or mild according to the strength of the *tomaniwus*, which was its spiritual element. To overcome the disease another *tomaniwus* stronger than it must enter into conflict and cast it out. This curative *tomaniwus* was that of a man, who by vigils and fastings had received a strong spirit. He was the *tomaniwus* man. This term is most inadequately translated “medicine man,” and the *tomaniwus* itself, “medicine.” But we must remember that *Tomaniwus*, or *Tewat*, is but another method of saying *Manito*, the general Indian term meaning God, or rather the universal and immortal spiritual element pervading all things. The medicine man was a man strongly impressed with this supersensible essence. If his spirit was good he might cast out and cure diseases, but if evil he might induce them. All men had their *Tomaniwus*, or medicine; if this was inferior their heart was little, and no one need fear them. If this was great it was to be either trusted or shunned, according as its possessor was good or evil. The medicine man was one pre-eminently informed with the *tomaniwus*. He might use his power beneficently,

and cure persons afflicted with the tomaniwus of a disease, and thus merit pay and approbation; or he might, if his tomaniwus, or spirit was wicked, use his power for evil and destroy others. In that case it was the duty of the chief to kill the wicked medicine man. The tomaniwus, or medicine man, therefore, who attempted cures, and failed, was deserving death, either for using his power wickedly or else pretending to a power which he did not possess.

The incomprehensible powers possessed by the white men, such as writing, use of firearms, and many other wonders were referred at once to his remarkable tomaniwus, the Indians having no conception of what we call natural force or laws. The power of the white man all resided in his spirit. Their fear was excited as they considered he might use this power to their injury. The presence of unknown and fatal diseases, as the white man appeared, such as smallpox and measles and malaria, all of which took a malignant form with a people whose systems had not been adapted by generations of selection to withstand them, were received by the Indians universally as the wicked effluvium of the white man's spirit. That this was inconceivably mortal to the Indians, while but little so to the whites, if affecting them at all, proved to them that it had its root in a wicked spirit of the whites toward themselves. To the whites whom they learned to trust and like, they gradually assigned a good tomaniwus; but to those that they did not know, or found special reason for hating, they assigned the bad spirit. To these they readily referred the diseases that ravaged their tribes. It was but a natural consequence that to the British traders, upon whom they gradually depended for arms and supplies, and learned to like, they should impute the good tomaniwus; while to the Americans, coming later, they imputed the bad one. This assignment of motives or spirit, was foolishly encouraged in an early instance by the Americans, or rather by McDougal for the Americans. It has already been related how this factor declared to the Chinook chiefs that he held the smallpox in a phial, which he had only to uncork and devastate the entire tribe. It has also been stated how to the ship of Captain Dominis the terrible malarial outbreak that wiped out the tribes of the lower Columbia was attributed the "poison"—or bad medicine—that induced the malady. It was said of this by Dr. Tolmie: "On the lower Columbia, until I left in 1841, it was firmly believed by the native that the remittent fever in 1828, after so decimating them, had been left by a Boston ship owner, Dominis, because they had not sold him all their furs." That it was just as natural to refer the commonest white men's practices to some occult spiritual power

was shown in their interpretation of the reason why Dr. McLoughlin set up a graduated pole on the bank of the Columbia, as it was about to reach its maximum rise, for no purpose but to measure the flood and keep a record, but the Indians believed that it was for the purpose of arresting the further rise of the water—a "tomaniwus" stick.

That some of the British traders took advantage of this superstitious disposition to deter the Indians from trading with the Americans, and desired the Indians to think that it was the Americans who had the bad medicine, or poison, is scarcely to be doubted, as some of the Americans took advantage of the same to terrify the Indians into either trading with or else leaving them alone. It is stated by De Smet that the belief of the Flat Heads that it was due to the "black gowns" or priests being among them that they had signally beaten the Blackfoot tribe, was encouraged rather than otherwise. But that the superstition was originated or fostered by the better men in the company cannot be believed.

The further instance, that of the Cayuse chief who with his family moved to the Methodist mission near Chemayway, but was caught in the malarial fever that sprung from opening the ground, has also been mentioned; and that he fled with the dead body of a child, carrying the death wail up the Columbia. The Cayuses were said by Archibald McKinley to be unequalled in this superstition. "They shot seven of their own medicine men right by the fort (Walla Walla) during my five years stay there, and probably over three times that number altogether."

That Dr. Whitman should be regarded as a medicine man, as he was a physician, would be most natural. To a degree he would fall under the native rule applying to doctors. He understood this perfectly, giving many curious instances of the actions of the native Tawat men. But the position of administering to them was forced upon him. A mission could not be conducted without a physician; and he could not hold their confidence a moment if he cured his own sick but refused to cure theirs. This would compel the conclusion on their part that as a medicine man he was guilty if he did not administer to them. It is stated by Mr. Hinman, stationed at the Dalles at the time of Whitman's death, that the Indians insisted that he go to Vancouver and get medicine; they were sick and dying, and he was killing them if he did not. It was for this purpose he undertook the difficult journey upon which he heard the news of the massacre. They insisted, as the whites do, that a physician must wait upon the calls of the sick, but added that cruel superstition that

if the sick died the physician must also die, or else pay a satisfactory ransom.

This accounts in some degree for Whitman falling under the ban of the tribe, and affording a reason good in Indian custom for his death. Measles and dysentery broke out acutely in 1847, and as many as thirty of the Cayuses were said to have died. Some of these had been treated by Whitman, and he answered all calls. The whites in the country were also sick; but, as is universally the case in such epidemics, with far less fatality.

Here, however, appear complications of white men's sectarian rivalries, vastly confusing the matter. The introduction of another creed—that of the Catholics—among an excitable tribe like the Cayuses, already thus dense with obdurate superstitions, could not but have tended to precipitate a sudden panic if circumstances were already favorable. The teaching of the Catholic priests that the doctrine of the Protestants was erroneous, and that those led astray by them were liable to perdition—made terribly real by strong pictures—would be translated by the savages as meaning that the spirit—the medicine—or tomaniwus of Whitman was bad; he was a deceptive, or poisoning, medicine man. Without questioning the right or aspersing the motive of one denomination to enter upon the field of another, yet it must be allowed that this was a most unfortunate combination. It can scarcely be believed that the Catholic teachers understood the possible results of their propaganda. Nor should the acts of these individual priests be charged to the great sect to which they belonged. It is, however, a blemish upon the priests concerned which time cannot efface that during the whole time of the massacre and thereafter while the captives were with the Indians, and even during the Cayuse War, they maintained personal friendship with the tribe and performed the rites of the church among them. Pains was also taken by William McBean to circulate the rumor, which he could have obtained only from the Indians, and which seems to have no documentary confirmation, that a well Indian feigning sickness, and being treated by Whitman, died with the others. Taken in connection with the fact that McBean refused entrance to the fugitives, and when forced made no provision for their comfort, shows him either disposed to prejudice against the Americans, or subject to exaggerated fears. His strange demeanor can scarcely be charged to the Hudson's Bay Company, though it was an oversight of no slight importance that after such men as Bambrun and McKinley, both wise and discreet, a person of McBean's prejudices and weakness should have been placed in charge of so

important a position as commandant at Fort Walla Walla. Such action of the Company invited the imputations that they have so strongly resented. Further tales of the poisonings of dogs and squirrels with Whitman's medicines, after his massacre, and of tartar emetic in melons on the place, have had circulation, but these all represent Whitman and his methods in so entirely different a light from anything seen in his letters, or from all that has been said of him by pioneers, and moreover impute to him the very opposite motives that he must have had in undertaking mission work, that we must think them a part of the stock of any highly excited time. Evidence is abundant that a considerable portion of the Indians, notably Isticue, did not believe Whitman was administering poison, and reports of conversations overheard by a renegade, Joe Lewis, between Whitman and Mrs. Whitman and Rogers, show also a wild and unusual sort of a mania, such as often accompanies such violent occurrences.

Evidence is abundant that Whitman knew the peril of the situation. Yet this did not seem greater than at many times previous. It would have been an easy way of saving his life to abandon his mission. Many have considered that he did not do so as a species of rashness. Others see in it fidelity to his purpose. Historically, the premature outbreak of the Cayuses was of large advantage in the greater Indian struggle that followed. It segregated the tribes, and disposed some of them, notably the Nez Percés and Spokanes, to friendship with the Americans. The Cayuses were eliminated as a factor; the Nez Percés saw the folly of resisting the Americans, even if they had been disposed to do so, and the great combination afterward formed by Kamiakin thus lost these two leading tribes and was able to array but a part of the Indians against the Americans.

ESTIMATES OF THE SERVICES OF WHITMAN

Great diversity of opinion is to be found among writers upon Oregon history, both as to the character and extent of the services of Dr. Marcus Whitman. The discussion, often so warm as to deserve the designation of "controversy," has been extended from local journalism to a national plane, and has engaged the attention of historical critics. By Edward Gaylord Bourne, of the historical department of Yale University, Whitman's life has been summed up as follows:

"The real history of Marcus Whitman is as follows: Sent out as a missionary to the Oregon Indians in 1836, he established a pros-

perous station which proved a haven of rest for the weary emigrant and traveler. In 1842 he is ordered to give up the station, but at the very time when the orders come a large emigration party arrives much reduced by the hardships of the journey from Fort Hall. Their leader, Dr. White, announces that the United States are going to occupy the country and that many are preparing to come the following year. If the mission station is abandoned it would be giving up the Protestant mission work just at the time when the Catholics had begun to come in, and when the mission station would be of especial service to the emigrants. If it were still kept up, more help must be secured; clergymen for religious work and Christian laymen to attend to the increasing business of the mission station, the farms, the mill, the sheltering of the sick and orphans, etc. If emigration on a grand scale was to begin the government ought to protect it and establish supply stations. If anything was to be done to reverse the action of the Board it must be done at once, or a year would be lost. Dr. Whitman was an energetic, impulsive man, of sanguine temperament, and he revolted at giving up the station at the time when its best opportunity for material and tangible services to Oregon was at hand. The missionaries gather and discuss the situation. Before they separate he is resolved. He will listen to no dissuasion. After presenting the needs of the emigrants at Washington and securing the reversal of the decision at Boston he returns. The mission increases its usefulness to the emigrants. It is a hospital and orphan asylum and a refuge for the sick and the helpless. The Indians, however, for whom it was established, foresee the inevitable. Disease and death invade their ranks; superstition and jealousy, distrust and resentment, take possession of their minds, and the dreadful tragedy of Wailatpu follows. That Marcus Whitman was a devoted and heroic missionary, who braved every hardship and imperilled his life for the cause of Christian missions and Christian civilization in the far Northwest and finally died at his post, a sacrifice to the cause, will not be gainsaid. That he deserves grateful commemoration in Oregon and Washington, is beyond dispute. But that he is a national figure in American history or that he 'saved' Oregon, must be rejected as a fiction."

By Joseph R. Wilson, principal of Portland Academy, greater value than seems to be allowed by Bourne is accorded Whitman for insisting that occupation by white families and that a wagon route to Oregon were practicable. He says: "This mission was based from the first on the family, and thus brought with it the first condition of permanence. . . . Perhaps its greatest contribution to the

history of Oregon was one incidental to its primary work as a mission, in its showing to America and the world by its own first treading of the same, that there was an open pathway for American families through the Rocky Mountains into the valley of the Columbia. The mission thus demonstrated from the first the practical contiguity of the Oregon Territory to the United States. It was this contiguity, as it was subsequently made patent, that was, almost more than all else, to influence the Oregon Question to an issue favorable to the United States. Whitman seems to have seen this from the first. The Oregon Question came to appear to him simply a matter of prior settlement of the territory from contiguous States, and such prior settlement was a question only of an open pathway through the intervening mountains. To his mind, therefore, the first duty of the American government was not in military occupation of the region in question, nor in the extension over it of civil jurisdiction, but in making the pathway thither already pointed out a plain and safe highway for American settlers."—"Oregon Question," September, 1900, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

By Professor Thomas Condon, of the University of Oregon, greater value than seems to have been allowed by Bourne for carrying information to the frontier settlements is accorded. Prof. Condon says: "Well, the proposed migration [the early movement across the plains, starting in 1842] thus shorn of elements that did not fit the heart of the movement, there remained scattered along the frontier several thousands of the very material for pioneering. Men in the prime of life with small families, who were themselves accustomed to the management of teams; were familiar with desert travel and mountain climbing; were accustomed to Indian alarms, many of them to Indian fighting, and all of them accustomed from childhood to the use of the rifle—these were restlessly waiting the time for movement. Dr. Whitman was informed of this. And it was to take the message of readiness to these that he decided on a winter journey. He may have done other important things. He may have failed to do some things overzealously ascribed to him. This herald work he did. He announced to his synod in Oregon that he regarded this service as the work needing to be done. He did this work, and the Missouri ox-wagons followed. For the restless waiters on destiny along the frontier saw that their time had come." Professor Condon says in another connection: "Without entering into the hackneyed question of the agency of Dr. Whitman in securing Oregon for the United States, we may say Dr. Whitman was no mythical character. He was a real man; a missionary of the Ameri-

can Board. In 1842 he found the Indians around him so dissatisfied he called a synodical meeting of the neighboring missions and submitted to them the question, 'Shall we give up the mission of the Waiilatpu?' The synod decided in the negative. The Doctor then said to his collaborators, 'Then you must vote me leave of absence, for I must go home and confer with the Board on the situation.' In fact Dr. Whitman seems to have had a mild kind of monomania on the subject of ox-teams drawing plain Missouri wagons from Fort Independence to the Columbia at Wallula. Anyway, his brethren all knew that he carried that conviction with him to the States. They knew, too, that he wanted an opportunity to publish it along the frontiers to the restless multitude who were asking the question, 'Was it safe to attempt to take a family to Oregon in an ox-wagon?' Dr. Whitman said he knew this could be done; said he himself could guide a train of wagons to Wallula, on the Columbia, and reach there before the fall storms should hinder their progress."—*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1900.

By Peter H. Burnett, a leading organizer of the emigration of 1843, it is said: "I consider Dr. Whitman to have been a brave, kind, devoted and intrepid spirit, without malice and without reproach. In my best judgment he made greater sacrifices, endured more hardships, and encountered more perils for Oregon than any one man."

The associates and immediate friends in Oregon of Dr. Whitman—Gray, Spalding, Eells, Walker, A. T. Smith, Wm. Geiger and Alanson Hinman—have all made claims for Whitman which have been regarded by Bancroft, Victor, Evans, Deady and Bourne as exaggerations so great as to be legendary rather than historical. Whitman himself seems to have been somewhat reticent, or at least being but an infrequent writer, has left few references either to his purposes or adventures. As in the case of McLoughlin, any scrap from his pen is a rarity. A letter to the Secretary of War, reporting the arrival of the immigration of 1843, and a careful note of the way, and a bill draughted at the request of the Secretary for establishing agricultural—not military—posts from the Missouri to the borders of Oregon, establishes his visit to Washington, and shows an active interest in promoting emigration and settlement. It also implies a tolerably close intimacy established with the heads of departments at the capital. A letter to Rev. L. P. Judson, dated November 5, 1846, or but some three years after his return from the East, gives more fully than any written evidence his own estimate of his services. This was not written with the purpose of explaining his part in the occupation of Oregon, but as an introduction to the invitation, or

desire, that he was about to express, that Judson should come to Oregon, and explaining why he did not speak of this while he was in the East. Judson was greatly occupied with the doctrine of Perfectionism, and of Millerism, to such an extent that he had ceased preaching and could no longer work with denominational Christians. Whitman says to him: "I have felt and acted with you on points to which the public mind was not awake, nor ready for action. It is well to be awake on all important points of duty and truth, but it can do no good to be ultra on any of these points. Why part friends for an opinion only, and that, too, when nothing is to be gained for truth or principle, and much lost of confidence, love, usefulness, enjoyment and interest." Then he proceeds to draw a comparison between a course of withdrawal from human interests, such as he thinks Judson had followed, and of participation, as he had done, saying: "And now for Millerism. I was in Boston when the famous time came for the end of the world, but I did not conclude that as the time was so short I would not concern myself to return to my family. But I did conclude that as you had adopted such [Millerite] sentiments, you were not prepared for any work calling for time in its execution, and thinking the value of time so short with you that it would be vain to call forth any principle to your mind that would involve length of time for its execution, I was contented to pass you in silence. For, to my mind all my work and plans involved time and distance, and required confidence in the stability of God's government and purpose to give the heathen to His son for an inheritance, and among them, those uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.

"I had adopted Oregon for my country, as well as the Indians for my field of labor, so that I must superintend the immigration of that year, which was to lay the foundations for the speedy settlement of the country, if prosperously conducted and safely carried through; but if it failed, and became disastrous, the reflex influence would be to discourage for a long time any further attempt to settle the country across the mountains, which would be to see it abandoned altogether. Now, mark the difference between the sentiments of you and me. Since that time you have allowed yourself to be laid aside from the ministry, and have parted with tried friends for an opinion only, and that opinion has done you nor no one else any good. Within the same time I have returned to my field of labor, and in my return brought a large immigration of about one thousand individuals safely through the long, and the last of it, an untried route to the western shores of the continent. Now that they were once

safely conducted through, three successive immigrations have followed after them, and two routes for wagons are open into the Willamette Valley. Mark, had I been of your mind I should have slept, and now the Jesuit Papists would have been in quiet possession of this the only spot in the western horizon of America not before their own. They were fast fixing themselves here, and had we missionaries had no American population to come in to hold on and give stability, it would have been but a small work for them and the friends of English interests, which they had also fully avowed, to have routed us, and then the country might have slept in their hands forever. Time is not so short yet but it is quite important that such a country as Oregon should not on one hand fall into the exclusive hands of the Jesuits, nor on the other under the English government [that is, even under the English without the Jesuits]. . . . I say again, come to Oregon, but do not bring principles of discord with you. Think of what a few good men could do to come together into the country. On the way they could make a party of their own, and so rest on the Sabbath. With six hundred and forty acres of land as bounty they could by mutual consent set apart a portion for the maintenance of the gospel and for schools and learning in such form as they felt disposed."

The letter shows throughout a complete understanding of the geographical conditions, climate, agriculture and the status of the boundary question. It is admitted by Bourne as entirely authentic, although from other passages we should judge that he does not consider it "contemporaneous," yet he remarks of it, "Whitman goes so far in claiming to have saved Oregon by his own energies that we get a glimpse, perhaps, of one of the germs of the legend." This letter is not cited here as any final proof of the actual results or value of Whitman's life in determining Oregon, or an important part of it, to the United States rather than to Great Britain; but as no doubt a clear exposition, as in the case of McLoughlin's documents, of the sentiments and purposes under which he was conscious of laboring. He also stated to the Board shortly before his death, that "It was to open a practical route and safe passage and secure a favorable report of the journey, from emigrants, which in connection with other objects, caused me to leave my family and brave the toils and dangers of the journey." This was in the nature of a defense, or demonstration of the wisdom of his winter journey East, for which he had been criticised by the Board. It is conceived by Bourne that "As the years passed" Whitman attached a growing importance to his services. It should, perhaps, be remarked, that

but four years passed until his death—not a time long enough to allow the natural growth seen in the memory of old men. It is conceivable, also, that in returning East he was ready to emphasize and encourage any one of several useful plans; the missionary reinforcement being one, and promotion of immigration another, and that the one which proved most useful, which was emigration, he especially prosecuted, and thus made it progressively his leading purpose, and was particularly interested in seeing it reach conclusive results. It is to be noticed, however, that Whitman does not seem at any place to claim to have originated, or organized, an emigration; but to have promoted and directed it.

It is not contemplated, however, to try to conclude the extent of Whitman's claims, but to furnish some basis for further study of an investigation of great general as well as particular interest.

LIST OF VESSELS ENTERING THE COLUMBIA FROM TIME OF AMERICAN DISCOVERY TO SETTLE- MENT OF BOUNDARY

List of vessels in the Northern Pacific from 1897 to 1847; compiled from "The Marine History of the Pacific Northwest." By Lewis Dryden and Company, E. W. Wright; Lewis Dryden and Company, publishers, Portland, Oregon:

Sea Otter, Captain Hill; *Hazard*, Captain Swift; *Indian Packett*, Captain Rogers; *Dispatch*, Captain Bowers: from Boston.

1798.—*Alexander*, Dodge; *Elisa*, Rowan; *Alert*, Bowles; *Jenny*, Bowers; *Dragon*, Lay.

From Boston: *Ulysses*, Lamb; *Dispatch*, Breck; *Hancock*, Crocker.

British: *Cheerful*, Beek; *Dove*, Duffin.

1800.—*Dove*, *Hazard*, *Jenny* and *Alert*, still trading; *Rover*, Davidson; and *Alexander*, Dodd, also mentioned.

From Boston: Brigantine *Betsy*, Charles Winship, added.

1801.—Bos.—*Polly*, Kelly; *Belle Savage*, Ockington; *Caroline*, Derby; *Charlotte*, Ingersoll; *Globe*, McGee; *Gautomozin*, Bumstead; *Atahualpa*, Wilde; *Dispatch*, Dorr; *Littler*, Dorr; *Lucy*, Pierrepont; *Manchester*, Brice; *Lavinia*, Hubbard; *Enterprise*, Hubbell.

1802.—*Catharine*, Worth; *Vancouver*, Brown; *Hetty*, Briggs; *Juno*, Kendrick.

1803.—From Boston: *Boston*, Salter; *O'Cain*, O'Cain. Seven old ones also plying trade.

1805.—Several of the old ones.

1806.—British ships *Haley* and *Hamilton* and *Pearle*; and *Urodel* and *Peacock*.

To

1809.—New ones on the coast: *Augusta*, *Eclipse*, *Mercury*, *Enterprise*, *Isabella*, *New Hazard*, *Otter*, *Amethyst*, *Charon*.

1810.—*Albatross*, from Boston, T. Winship.

1811.—Ship *Tonguin*, New York, Johnathan Thorn; *Dolly*, schooner set up at Astoria from prepared timbers.

1812.—*Beaver*, Sowles; *Albatross*, Smith.

1813.—English man-of-war *Raccoon*, Black; *Pedlar*, Smith.

1814.—*Pedlar*, Smith; Br. *Isaac Todd*.

1815.—Br. *Colonel Allen* and *Columbia*; Russian, *Ilemen* and *Chirikoff*.

1816.—American: *Lydia*, *Atlas*, *Albatross*, *Sultana*. French: *Bordelais*.

1817.—American brigs *Brutus* and *Clarion*; British brig *Columbia*.

1818.—American sloop-of-war *Ontario*, Captain Biddle; H. M. S. *Blossom*, Captain Hickey.

To

1825.—American ship *Borneo*, Clarke; American ship *Eagle*, Meek; *Lascar*, Post; *Mentor*, Martin; *Volunteer*, Bennett. Brigs *Arab*, *Fredie*, *Pedlar*, *Sultana*, *Active*, *Lively*, *Alexander*, *Bounty*.

1826.—The *Vancouver*, first vessel built of Oregon wood, launched.

1827.—British schooner *Cadboro* for H. B. coasting trade arrived.

1828.—American brig *Owyhee*, Domins; American schooner *Convoy*, Thompson; British bark *William and Ann*.

1830 to 1840, forty vessels are said to have arrived.

1830—*Isabella* (wrecked at Columbia bar).

1831—*Ganymede*, Kissling (British).

1832.—American brig *Llama*, McNeil (sold to H. B. Co.).

1834.—American brigs *May Dacre*, Lambert; and *Europa*.

1835.—Br. *Ganymede*, *Dryad*.

1836.—Steamer *Beaver* for H. B. Co.; British brig, *Llama*; American, *Joseph*, *Peabody*, *Europa*, *Loriot*, *Convoy*, *La Grange*.

1837.—American brig *Diana*; bark *Sumatra*; American, *Hamilton*.

1839.—British men-of-war *Sulphur* and *Starling*, Sir Edward Belcher, entered the Columbia.

British bark *Vancouver*, Duncan; American brig, *Thomas*

- Perkins*, Varnay; American, *Forager*, Thompson; American brig *Maryland*, J. H. Couch.
- 1840.—American bark *Lausanne*, Humphries; sloop-of-war *Peacock*.
- 1841.—(Wrecked on Peacock Spit, mouth of Columbia) Sloop-of-war *Vincennes*, in Puget Sound; *Porpoise* entered Columbia.
- 1842.—American brig *Chenamus*, J. H. Couch; British schooner *Valleyfield*, Boulton.
- 1843.—Bark *Fama*; British bark *Diamond*, Fowler.
- 1844.—*The Indefatigable* (French); British sloop-of-war *Modeste*.
- 1845.—British squadron in North Pacific visiting various points on the coast: *America*, 50 guns, John Gordon; *Collingswood*, 80 guns, G. F. Seymoure. Frigates *Granpus*, 50 guns, C. B. Martin; *Fishguard*, 42 guns, J. A. Duntz; *Juno*, 26 guns, P. I. Blake; *Talbot*, 26 guns, Henry Kellet. Sloops-of-war *Modeste*, 18 guns, Thos. Baillie; *Daphne*, 18 guns, Onslow. Steamers *Sampson*, 6 guns, Henderson; *Cormorant*, 6 guns, Gordon; *Pandora*, 6 guns, Wood; *Salamander*, 6 guns, Hammond. Brig *Frolic*, 6 guns, Hamilton. Brigantine *Spy*, 3 guns, Woodbridge.
- The American squadron in the Pacific: Ship *Columbus*, 86 guns, Riddle. Frigates *Congress*, 60 guns, Stockton; *Savannah*, 68 guns, Sloat; *Portsmouth*, 24 guns, Montgomery; *Levant*, 24 guns, Page; *Warren*, 24 guns, Hall; *Cyane*, 24 guns, Merwin. Schooner *Shark*, 12 guns, Howison. Store ship *Erie*, 8 guns, Turner.
- 1845.—American bark *Toulon*, Capt. Nathaniel Crosby.
- 1846.—Brig *Henry*, Captain Kilbourn. This year the first pilot, S. C. Reeves, was placed on the bar of Columbia.
- 1847.—The schooner *Wave* was built by Fred. Ketchum at Cathlamet Point. American bark *Whiton*, Capt. Roland Ghelston, with Richard Hoyt.

AUTHORS AND BOOKS RELATING TO THE PERIOD TREATED IN VOLUME III AND IV WITH COMMENTS

ADAMS, John Quincy; *Diary* XI, 344-347.

ALLEN, Miss A. J., "Ten Years in Oregon"; treating chiefly of the adventures and containing the reports of Dr. Elijah White.

APPLEGATE, Jesse, the "Sage of Yoncalla"; "A Day With the Cow Column"; *Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1876.

APPLEGATE, Hon. Elisha; "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1888. Address.

ATKINSON, Rev. Geo. H.; Address; Oregon Pioneer Association, 1880; and Biography of, by Nancy Bates Atkinson, his wife, Portland, 1896.

BANCROFT, Hubert Howe; "History of Oregon," Vol. I.

Bancroft's History, though bearing strongly the marks of its California publication, and placing the Hudson's Bay Company and the British claims in the best light, approximates most nearly a complete history yet produced.

BARLOW, Mary S.; "History of the Barlow Road," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1902.

BARROWS, William; "Oregon; Struggle for Possession"; confined chiefly to efforts of Whitman, defense of Webster and discussions in Congress.

BENTON, Thomas H.; "Thirty Years in Congress."

BOURNE, Edward Gaylord, Professor of History, Yale University; "Essays in Historical Criticism," Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1901. "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," first in the series, occupies the first part of the book. Bourne considers the popular account of Whitman's services as legendary, and indorses the position of Bancroft.

BLANCHET, Archbishop; "Account of Catholic Propaganda in Oregon"; a picturesque and well written book.

BROUILLET, Rev. J. B. A.; "Protestantism in Oregon"; dealing chiefly with the Whitman massacre.

BROWN, J. Henry; "Political History of Oregon; Provisional Government"; Lewis Dryden Printing Co., Portland, Ore., 1892; most complete collection of documents in print.

BOISE, Hon. Reuben P.; Address; "Oregon Pioneer Association's Transactions," 1876.

BURNETT, Peter H.; "Recollections of An Old Pioneer"; D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1880.

BUTTERWORTH, Hezekiah; "The Log Schoolhouse on the Columbia"; popular story, of which the hero is Dr. Nixon, of Chicago.

CLARKE, Samuel A.; Sketches and Poems. Mr. Clarke was a pioneer of journalism in Oregon; the earliest published reference to Whitman's services in saving Oregon coming from the pen of this prolific author, and being published in the *Sacramento Union*, November 16, 1864.

CONDON, Professor Thomas, University of Oregon; "Process of Selection in Settlement of Oregon"; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1900. Address, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1888; "The Two Islands," geological sketch; J. K. Gill & Co., Portland, 1902. Professor Condon's historical and geological sketches are models of calm judgment and literary symmetry.

COUES, Dr. Elliott; "New Light on the History of the Greater Northwest," being a compilation of the journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson.

CRAWFORD, Medorem; "Transactions of Pioneer Association," Address, 1882; also *Journal* of 1842. Published by Historical Society.

DEADY, Hon. Matthew P.; a judge of the United States District Court. Address, "Transactions of Pioneer Association," 1875; "Southern Oregon; Names and Events"; "Transactions," 1883. Judge Deady was a voluminous writer in the journals and magazines of the Pacific Coast, doing efficient service for Oregon. He strongly insisted upon the spelling "Wallamet," as the correct form for the name of our river, and considered that too exclusive credit had been given Dr. Whitman as a central figure in our history.

DE SMET, Father P. J.; "Oregon Missions," 1846, N. Y. Sketches seem also to have been published by this graceful author in 1842, to which Whitman makes allusion.

DODSON, W. D. B. "Official History of the Operations of the

Second Oregon Infantry, United States Volunteers, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands"; appointed by General Summers.

DUNN, John; "Hudson's Bay Company"; published in England, 1844; defending British claims and asserts that England already, at that time, possessed the country down to and including the north half of the Columbia, with all the best inlets and harbors of the coast, and held commercial control of the entire North Pacific Ocean and Asiatic trade.

DYE, Mrs. Eva Emory. Mrs. Dye is well known as a writer of historical romances, keeping usually well within historical facts, though detailing these under the form of scenes and dialogues, or conversations. "McLoughlin and Old Oregon," "Stories of Oregon," and "The Conquest," are the series as far as yet published.

EELLS, Rev. Dr. Myron, of Towana, Wash. Dr. Eells is author of many articles and documents explaining and defending the views presented by his father, Cushing Eells, and associates, that Whitman was of pre-eminent service in securing possession of Oregon to the United States. "Oregon Missions," "Marcus Whitman, M.D.," "A Reply to Prof. Bourne's 'Whitman Legend,'" "The Story of a Mission" (his own at Skokomish, or Towana), and "Father Eells," with sketches of S. H. Marsh and G. H. Atkinson, are his leading bound volumes or pamphlets.

EVANS, Hon. Elwood. Address; "Oregon Pioneer Transactions," 1877. Principal writer of "Indian War Veteran's History of the Pacific Northwest," quarto, two volumes—"the red books"; and produced many newspaper articles; engaged in the "Whitman Controversy," that his services were not pre-eminent.

FARNHAM, "Oregon and California."

FENTON, Wm. D. "Political History of Oregon—valuable historical paper—*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, December, 1901.

FREMONT, Lieut. (afterward General) J. C.; "Exploring Tour to the Rocky Mountains" and "Oregon and California."

GANTENBEIN, Adjutant-General, Oregon Volunteers. Complete Illustrated History of Oregon Troops in the Spanish-American War and Filipino Insurrection" (in press January 1, '03).

GEER, Ralph C. Address; "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1879.

GEER, Gov. Theo. T. Address at unveiling of monument at Champoege, May 2, 1901; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1901.

GRAY, William H.; "History of Oregon," 1870.

GRIFFIN, Rev. J. S.; "The American," 1848 (out of print).

HINES, Rev. Gustavus; "Oregon and Its Institutions"; Carleton & Porter, N. Y., 1868.

HINES, Rev. Harvey K. Dr. Hines has been a voluminous writer, and was long an editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*; latest work was "Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest"; Marsh Printing Company, Portland, Ore., 1899; devoted mainly to "The Wonderful Story of Jason Lee"; of great interest and high value; also author of "Illustrated History of the State of Oregon," 1893; a valuable depository of information.

HOWISON, Lieut. Neil M., commander of "Shark," wrecked August, 1846, passing out of the Columbia. Reports.

LEE AND FROST; "Ten Years in Oregon," being journals of Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, 1844.

McLOUGHLIN, Dr. John; Document, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1880; Document, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1900.

MOWRY, William A.; "Marcus Whitman," Silver, Burdett & Co., 1901. Mowry takes the position that Whitman was the man "who saved 'the Oregon' to the United States."

MINTO, Hon. John. Address, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1876; "Reminiscences Crossing the Plains," 1844; in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1901; and many other articles and addresses in *Oregon Statesman* and *Portland Oregonian*. Mr. Minto has been a leading contributor in pioneer history and writer on horticulture, stockraising and forestry, and was for some time editor

of the *Oregon Farmer*, and a leading promoter of the Oregon State Fair.

McMASTERS, "School History of the United States."

McARTHUR, Mrs. Harriet K.; sketch of J. W. Nesmith, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1886.

NESMITH, Senator J. W. Address, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1875, 1880, 1883.

PARRISH, Rev. E. E.; "Journal of Immigration of 1844," "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1888.

REES, Willard H. Address, "Transactions of Pioneer Association," 1879; also many articles and biographical sketches in "Transactions" and general newspapers.

ROBERTSON, James R., Professor of History, Pacific University; "Genesis of Political Authority and of a Commonwealth Government in Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1900; "The Social Evolution in Oregon," *Ibid.*, March, 1902.

RUSH, Richard; "Residence at the Court of London"; Richard Bentley, publisher, London, 1845.

SCOTT, H. W.; Editor of the *Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon; President of the Oregon Historical Society, and Editor of the "History of Portland," published by Mason & Co., Syracuse, N. Y. Historical and descriptive articles of the Pacific Northwest have been a leading feature of the *Oregonian* during Mr. Scott's management of over thirty years. The files of this journal contain the largest collection of articles to be found in any one place. Special articles by Mr. Scott may be found in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, June, 1900, and June, 1901. "Not Marjoram" and "Formation and Administration of the Provisional Government."

SPALDING, Rev. H. H.; Letters and Reports, *Missionary Herald*, 1837 to 1847; and "The American," 1848; also Senate and Executive Document, Washington, No. 37.

SHORTESS, Robert; "Sketch of Journey to Oregon," 1839; "Transactions of Pioneer Association," 1896.

STAATS, Hon. Stephen. Address, "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1877.

STRONG, Hon. William. Address, "Transactions of Pioneer Association," 1878.

THORNTON, Hon. J. Quinn; "History of Oregon and California," 1848 and 1864; "History of Provincial Government," "Transactions of Pioneer Association," 1874; "Historical Letter," *Ibid.*, 1882.

VICTOR, Mrs. Frances Fuller; a writer to whom Oregon is much indebted for almost continuous literary labors having for the most part the scene in this State. "River of the West," "Atlantis Arisen," "Documentary History of Oregon Indian Wars," and of Bancroft's Oregon and Washington volumes of "Pacific Coast History; also author of "A New Penelope," and other poems, and articles in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

WHITE, Elijah, M.D.; Reports as Sub-Indian agent, Wash.

WHITMAN, Marcus and Narcissa Prentiss; Letters and Journal, "Transactions Pioneer Association," 1885 and 1886.

WILKES, Lieut. (afterwards Commodore) Chas.; "Voyage of Exploration Around the World"; years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842. Squadron consisted of "Vincennes," sloop of war, two decks, 780 tons; "Peacock," sloop-of-war, 650 tons; "Porpoise," brig, 230 tons; "Relief," store ship; "Sea Gull" and "Flying Fish," schooners. As to the entrance of the Columbia, Wilkes says: "I am at a loss to conceive how any doubt should have ever existed that here was the mouth of a mighty river, . . . or how the inquiring mind of Vancouver should have allowed him to hesitate when he must have seen the evidence of a powerful flood of fresh water contending with the tides of the ocean. . . and in the marked line of separation between the sea and the river water. . . . Mere description can give little idea of the terrors of the bar of the Columbia; all who have seen it have spoken of the wildness of the scene, the incessant roar of the waters, presenting one of the most fearful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor. The difficulty of its channel, the distance of the leading sailing marks, the uncertainty to one unacquainted with them, the want of knowledge of the strength and direction of the currents, with the necessity

of approaching close to unseen dangers, the transition from clear to turbid water, all cause doubt and mistrust. Under such feelings I confess I found myself laboring."

The "Peacock" was wrecked later attempting to enter; the squadron went to Nisqually; the "Porpoise," under Wilkes, entered the Columbia later, piloted by an Indian. The "Vincennes" did not enter.

WILSON, Rev. J. R., Principal of Portland Academy; "The Oregon Question," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, June and September, 1900.

WILLIAMS, Hon. Geo. H. Address; "Transactions of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1885.

YOUNG, Prof. F. G., of the Department of Economics, University of Oregon; editor of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, and Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society; "The Oregon Trail," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, December, 1900; "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," December, 1901; "Nathaniel Wyeth," "Sources of Oregon History," 1899.

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